

STREET ART AND THE COMMUNITY:
A STUDY ON POW! WOW! HAWAI'I AND THE KAKA'AKO COMMUNITY

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to better understand how community members perceive the role of street art on a community. Specifically, this study focused on the Kaka‘ako community in Honolulu, Hawai‘i and the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i annual street art festival. Qualitative interviews were conducted on 22 respondents, all of whom identified as members of the Kaka‘ako community. Three categories of community members were interviewed: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i artists, Kaka‘ako business owners, and consumers of goods and services in Kaka‘ako. Themes that emerged from these interviews include Kaka‘ako and gentrification in Kaka‘ako; the street art of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i; the cultural, social, psychological, and economic role of street art on the Kaka‘ako community; and the relationship between street art and gentrification.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Street art can be found in the busiest cities and the emptiest cities. Some people say it is vandalism and a distraction. Others say it gives character to a community; that it is the expression of the feelings, opinions, and beliefs of a city's artists. These artists use a city's streets, both populated and abandoned, as their canvas. Their work is free for the entire public to experience. Street art allows viewers to see the community they may know so well in a different light. Since the beginning of street art, communities have gone through many changes. Many studies point to artists as the reason for these changes.

In Hawai'i, there are a growing number of neighborhoods where street art can be found. Recently, Kaka'ako and Kaimuki have become hotspots for artists, including the artists of POW! WOW! Hawai'i. POW! WOW! Hawai'i is a street art festival founded by Jasper Wong in 2010 (Chun, 2014). During this festival, artists gather from around the world to create murals throughout the entire Kaka'ako community. Because of its increasing prominence in Hawai'i, the role street art by POW! WOW! Hawai'i plays on the Kaka'ako community should be further explored.

The growing popularity of POW! WOW! Hawai'i has attracted a large audience, which in turn has attracted more small businesses, and therefore more large businesses (Mufson, 2016). This is a phenomenon called "graffitification," or graffiti-gentrification (Mufson, 2016, para. 11). Gentrification can be defined as the process of investment and development of disinvested urban communities, creating wealthy and prospering neighborhoods, which in turn displaces the original residents. Graffitification is the gentrification of a city that occurs as a direct or indirect result of artists beautifying a neighborhood (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). While the phenomenon

of graffitification is not a new one, nor is it specific to Hawai‘i, it is a phenomenon worth investigating. Artists have been blamed for gentrification in many cities (Grodach, Foster, & Murdoch, 2014). In recent years, Kaka‘ako has been gentrified into a colorful and busy neighborhood. This study investigates the role street art plays on the community, including whether or not street art in Kaka‘ako has any relation to the gentrification of Kaka‘ako. Few studies have been completed on both Kaka‘ako and street art in Hawai‘i. The results of this study can potentially be applied to other communities in Hawai‘i in the future, such as the up and coming Kaimuki community.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Art and the Community

What one individual may think is art, another individual may not. “Art” is an arbitrary word, thus defining art can be a challenging task. The definition of art has long been controversial (Collocott, 1950). The popular saying goes, “Beauty is in the eye of the beholder.” The same can be said of art: “Art is in the eye of the beholder.”

To understand the arbitrary concept of “art,” philosophers have explored what art is and its relation to humans. Art philosophies originated in Greece and were intertwined with philosophies of beauty (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964). Classical Greek philosophers grounded their thoughts in the metaphysical realities of humans and nature (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964). Two such philosophers include Plato and Aristotle. Plato presents four themes of art: art is *techne*, or craft, that can be proportioned and measured; art imitates the ideas and appearances of nature; art is inspired by the divine; and art is the poetic madness of beauty (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964). Aristotle philosophizes that art imitates the soul and actions of humans (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964). Contrary to Plato, Aristotle understands beauty is a property of art and art can “repair the deficiencies in nature” (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964, p. 79). On the other hand, Immanuel Kant, a more modern philosopher of art, defines art as an artist’s expression of an aesthetic idea, which is “a representation of the imagination that arouses much thought but cannot be encompassed by any body of concepts” (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964, p. 280). Kant philosophizes that art is made to be judged based on its aesthetics, to create emotion, and to portray beauty at the same time (Hofstadter & Kuhns, 1964). Overall, philosophies of art have been inquired to understand the arbitrariness of art and beauty, which some philosophers believe

to be synonymous. Much of the art community today defines art in terms of physical or personal perception.

Dutton (2006) defines art as either being artifacts or performances. Artifacts are painted, sculpted, and decorated objects while performances are danced, musical, composed, and recited stories. According to Dutton (2006), art can mean the creation or experience of such artifacts or performances. Leonardo Da Vinci, Vincent Van Gogh, Claude Monet, Pablo Picasso, Andy Warhol, Salvador Dali, and Frida Kahlo. These are all famous artists who have been studied, appreciated, and criticized in history books and art museums alike. The work they created has commonly been accepted as art. However, a preschool dance recital, a ceramics class project, and a graphic designed flyer can also be considered art. Collocott (1950) explains art can be both everything created beautifully or abstract theories and concepts. Collocott (1950) also states, “art may look to the future, and be influenced by the past, but the art and what it expresses are contemporaneous” (p. 66). Therefore, art is a reflection of the present day. Art expresses the thoughts of people. It exists for people; art that is not seen by people has no value (Collocott, 1950). This means when art cannot be seen or experienced by anyone, it does not have any value to anyone. If an artist creates a painting that is meant to evoke emotion but is never seen by a viewer, then no one will experience the emotion of that painting.

When the term “art” is used, it is typically referring to work made by a talented person that expresses him or herself better than others (Collocott, 1950). This “talented person” Collocott (1950) refers to is the artist who is:

Simply a man who because of his aesthetic excellence expresses better and more of what we all feel, or may feel. He is a leader, creating new forms, developing his art, bringing us

new appreciation of our lives ... To qualify as an artist he must have technique and vision—and must think his work beautiful. (p. 65)

Artists are an important influence on society. An artist gives a voice to those who have none; he or she is the voice of many other individuals (Collocott, 1950). Artists represent the misrepresented and underrepresented. They bring to light the issues that are sometimes overlooked by the rest of society. Through their art, artists can express their beliefs through their artwork: beliefs of him or herself or of a greater community.

There is a close relationship between art and the community. Art attracts tourism, residents, businesses, and investments, thus benefiting the economy of a community (Guetzkow, 2002). People travel around the world from New York to Paris to see countless museums containing prized art pieces, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Modern Art, and the Louvre. Art is as an economic multiplier, an idea that Richard Florida (2003) presents as creative capital theory. Creative capital theory states, “Creative people power regional economic growth and these people prefer places that are innovative, diverse, and tolerant” (Florida, 2003, p. 293). “Creative people” in this theory refers to what Florida (2003) calls the “creative class,” which includes people who create new forms, designs, methods, or products and are paid for their work (p. 293). The creative class follows the pattern of moving to creative centers, where their creativity is allowed to flourish (Florida, 2003). This results in an economical boost by enhancing the community’s products and services, attracting businesses, employees, and residents, as well as increasing the spending of residents who purchase the products and services (Markusen, 2010).

Not only does art boost the economy of a community, art can also be utilized as a tool to

aid community building. Community building is “an orientation to community that stresses community assets and shared identity” (Minkler & Wallerstein, 2012, p. 289). Art can be used as a strategy to showcase a community and create a strong identity with which the community can identify. Art can improve the physical and psychological health of individuals within a community, as well as improving a community’s skills, capital, and creativity (Guetzkow, 2002). Creating art can be meditative, healing, and emotionally inspiring. Overall, art has the potential to create and transform a society (Collocott, 1950).

Previous research focuses on art in education, mental and emotional health, quality of life, and community engagement. Focus is emphasized on disabled individuals, at-risk youth, elderly individuals, and young children. Past research has also looked into the many benefits of art spaces in a community. When a space in a community is dedicated to art, the local area can be revitalized, resulting in the improvement of the community (Grodach, 2010). Marginalized groups are provided an opportunity to be involved with the community by participating in art-related activities (Grodach, 2010). Art allows marginalized communities to be heard and have their stories and history seen (Sharp, Pollock, & Paddison, 2005). Another benefit of art in a community is the increase of social capital, or the “trust, mutual understanding, and collective identity that roots cultural communities to place” (Grodach, 2010, p. 7). When a community of individuals is involved in the creation of a space, they become connected and invested into using and preserving that space (Borrupt, 2012). In turn, the community becomes safer and more attractive to community members (Borrupt, 2012). Thus, art can improve overall communities and the individuals within them.

One example of art improving a community is the Waterfire public art event. In 1994, the

artist, Barnaby Evans, started this event in Providence, Rhode Island (Borrupt, 2012). Every year since, hundreds of attendees and volunteers from around the globe gather for “music, performances, ceremonial bonfires, boats, and ritual” that stretch for a mile along the community’s downtown waterways (Borrupt, 2012, para. 11). There are now 25 events throughout the year between the spring and fall seasons. The events have repopulated the once deserted waterways as well as the community’s economy. It has also enhanced the image, identity, and spirit of the community, creating a sense of “pride, belonging, interaction, and human connection” between community individuals (Borrupt, 2012, para. 9). With the Waterfire public art event, the local economy, attraction, and quality of living improved.

2.2 Street Art and the Community

In 2008, over two million individuals in the United States of America identified as an artist (Daitechndt, 2013). The United States 2008 consensus also revealed that artists are “typically overeducated and underemployed” due to the small number of artistic careers available (Daitechndt, 2013). As a result, Daitechndt (2013) argues artists use the streets of their cities to showcase their work to a greater audience and provoke the exclusive traditional art community that has rejected and ignored them. For these artists, the street is their canvas to share their ideas to the greater public. Street art started in the early 1970s in New York City (Catz, 2014). Even though street art could be found in other cities in America during this time, street art in New York exploded (Catz, 2014). This corresponds with the start of hip hop culture, which is why street art and hip hop are often associated with one another. Street art has its roots in the graffiti movement. During the 1960s, writing one’s name on public property to claim it as a stance

against poverty and powerlessness became a popular activity of the youth (Chang, 2006). In the 1970s, woodshop and printing classes, which utilized writing in a blocked style, were encouraged to be taken by poor youth. This influenced these youths to express themselves in different variations of this block letter form they learned in these classes. Block style is one of the main characteristics of graffiti, as is the “reclaiming of public space” (Chang, 2006, p. 252). Graffiti is defined by Riggle (2010) as “illegal writing, usually pseudonym, on a public surface” (p. 251). “Writing” is a key word in graffiti as many graffiti artists call themselves writers. Graffiti can also be referred to as “tagging,” which is the creation of a symbol to acknowledge that an artist was there (Daichendt, 2013). Graffiti writers have the goal of fame, which they use tagging to accomplish (Chang, 2014). The medium of graffiti writers is typically a spray paint can (Daichendt, 2013). Different to graffiti, street artists often incorporate more of the context of a space in their work and sometimes use a greater range of materials to create their art (Daichendt, 2013).

Street art is commonly viewed as environmentally damaging and an illegal act around the world, similar to graffiti (Catz, 2014). For this reason, many street artists remain anonymous or sign their work with pseudonyms (Riggle, 2010). For example, “Banksy” is arguably one of the most well-known pseudonyms in street art. Banksy remains anonymous due to his highly controversial stencils he makes in different illegal spaces in the streets around the world. However, one might argue the reason for remaining anonymous is to increase his status and monetary capital. Regardless, it is due to this illegality that street art is ephemeral. This is a key concept of street art. Street art is subject to be “stolen, defaced, destroyed, moved, altered, or appropriated” (Riggle, 2010, p. 245). Even a famous street artist like Banksy risks having his

work covered up within a few hours, either by other artists or local law enforcements, or even having his work stolen to be sold. Nonetheless, not all street art is short-lived, nor do artists expect their artwork to last for only a few hours or days (Riggle, 2010). Although street art is ephemeral, it is often preserved through photographs and videos (Catz, 2014). Nowadays, street art can be seen by anyone with access to social media. A search of “#streetart” on the social media platform, Instagram, will generate millions of photos of street art from around the world.

Differentiating street art and public art is a very difficult task. The distinction between the two is not easily made clear. One might even say there is no distinction between street art and public art. Street art can be considered public art because it is art in the public space (Riggle, 2010). However, according to Daitchendt (2013), street art is not commissioned and typically illegal, while public art is commissioned and commonly acceptable in society. To say street art is not commissioned means it is “donated to the public on the streets and is motivated by creativity alone” (Kuittinent, 2015, p. 8). It is commonly perceived that street art is done without consent, similar to graffiti. This is different than public art because most people associate public art as art made with permission and permit. This means it is controlled by the commissioner or owner of the public space, restricting the freedom of the artist to create whatever he or she desires. This is a freedom an artist has with street art. The work an artist makes when the content of the work is controlled by the commissioner may not necessarily portray the beliefs and ideas of the artist. The beliefs and ideas of the commissioner guide the creation of a commissioned public art piece. Though, not all public art is commissioned and may be donated by the artist. Generally, public art can be perceived as any art that is in the public space, which includes street art, as it is in the streets of public space. Per this logic, the difference between the

two terms can be conceived as whether the art is commissioned or not.

Street art is created around the existing public street space. The artwork interacts with both the environment and people within a public space. Street art incorporates features in the existing space, whether it may be a crack in a wall or an alley (Daichendt, 2013). Street art emphasizes the way people use a space (Daichendt, 2013). The meaning of a street art piece is dependent on its location (Riggle, 2010). Street art is mixed into the public landscape. It is “interwoven with the unexpected, offering a prism through which the everyday environment can be perceived differently, shaking potential viewers out of their daily routine, creating curiosity and awareness” (Kuittinen, 2015, p. 14). Examples of such might be a colorfully yarn-woven bus bench, bread placed in a storm drain as if the drain were a toaster, or a giant rubber duck floating in the middle of a pond. Street art adds to modern cityscapes saturated with advertisements for commerce and large corporations (Hunter, 2012). Many street artists use these advertisements as a canvas for their work to further create a message against corporate and capitalistic powers. Street art is a form of art that allows the entire public to experience it. Kuittinen (2015) explains street art is an intervention of a street space that engages an audience because of its visual power. With their artwork, street artists claim ownership of the street space and customize their environment, which is “a political statement in its own right,” similar to graffiti practices (Kuittinen, 2015, p. 15). Street art is one way for artists to express themselves without having to be approved and accepted by the established formal art community that may restrict the content and messages artists want to convey.

Blek le Rat, Shepard Fairey, and Banksy are a few famous street artists from around the world. Their street art can be recognized on large billboards in the middle of a city or even dark

alleys in a forgotten part of a city. Blek le Rat is a street artist based in Paris, France who uses stencils to add rats, rural animals, and metamorphosed humans to European city streets (Hunter, 2013). Ten years after seeing the graffiti in New York in 1971, Blek le Rat started to create his own street art style in Paris (Catz, 2014). Shepard Fairey is the American street artist behind the popular OBEY posters of Andre the Giant (Catz, 2014). Fairey, who is from Charleston, South Carolina, is known for his stickers and posters that he covers over the walls of frequently visited city streets, bridges, and freeways (Catz, 2014). Banksy is a street artist from Bristol, United Kingdom, whose stencils can be seen around the world (Hunter, 2013). Banksy's work often includes humorous "anti-consumerist or anti-establishment messages" (Catz, 2014, p. 246). These three artists are just a few of the countless street artists around the world.

Like art, street art allows artists to share their opinions about certain issues, such as those concerning politics (Catz, 2014). Street artists use their work to send a message and bring awareness to a larger audience of these issues (Catz, 2014). In doing so, street art can promote a closer community. While some people may not approve or appreciate street art, street art can stimulate an environment by encouraging creativity (Daichendt, 2013). The more supportive the environment, the more creative the work. Communities contribute to the creation and appreciation of street art (Daichendt, 2013). Communities do this by participating in viewing, interpreting and sharing the art, as well as contributing to the culture that the art inspires. Street art beautifies communities and brings them together (Smith, 2013). It boosts the cultural identity of a neighborhood (Smith, 2013).

2.3 Gentrification

The term “gentrification” was coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008, p. 4). Ruth Glass was a British sociologist and an urban sociology pioneer in Europe (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). She refers to “gentrification” as a new process of change in urban areas of inner London (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008, p. 4). In the words of Lees, Slater, and Wyly (2008), Glass considers gentrification as “a complex urban process that included the rehabilitation of old housing stock, tenurial transformation from renting to owning, property price increases, and the displacement of working-class residents by incoming middle class” (p. 5). Glass’s definition of gentrification is now referred to as “classical gentrification” (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008, p. 10).

Historically, there were three waves of gentrification. The first wave of gentrification took place between the 1950s and 1970s (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). Due to the economic recession around the world during this time, “disinvested inner-city housing in the United States, Western Europe, and Australia became a target for reinvestment” (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008, p. 175). These investments were funded by the government to prevent urban decline. The second wave of gentrification was during the 1970s and 1980s (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). At this time, more gentrifiers bought property in disinvested central city neighborhoods, making the practice of gentrification more common (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). Poor residents in these neighborhoods were displaced as a result of gentrification. The mid-1990s saw the start of the third wave of gentrification, also called post-recession gentrification (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). This wave of gentrification was marked by the collaboration between governments and

private businesses to promote the gentrification process, leading to more corporate and large-scale capital investments (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). This practice can still be seen today.

Neil Smith furthered Ruth Glass' definition of gentrification by introducing the "rent gap" theory (Carswell, 2012, p. 241). Smith's rent gap theory describes the difference between the actual price of land and the potential price of land. The actual price of land refers to the price developers pay, whereas the potential price of land is the maximum amount the land is worth in rent prices when the land is fully developed (Carswell, 2012). The rent gap is widened when developers purchase buildings at extremely low costs because more money is available to redevelop the buildings, increasing the profit that can be made with higher rent costs (Makagon, 2010). When the properties are sold to wealthy buyers for a higher cost than the original price of these redeveloped buildings, a large profit is made (Makagon, 2010). Gentrification is therefore a cycle of urban investment and disinvestment (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008). It is the reinvestment of capital in urban communities to create neighborhoods for individuals of a wealthy class. Given this, gentrification can be understood as "an economic, cultural, political, social, and institutional phenomenon, and various actors have been and are involved from individuals to private institutions to the state" (Carswell, 2012, p. 241).

2.4 Street Art and Gentrification

Makagon (2010) presents two strategies of gentrification. One is utilizing partnerships between the government and developers by using public taxes and funds to redevelop a neighborhood. The other is the organic process of artists beautifying low-income residential or warehouse neighborhoods (Makagon, 2010). Utilizing artists to beautify cities has been

addressed in previous research in relation to urban regeneration, urban renaissance, urban development, reurbanization, cultural gentrification, and gentrification. However, few studies have focused on street art and this beautification process.

The beautification of a city has both positive and negative consequences. Street art brings together different artists and other creative individuals to collaborate and exchange ideas and cultures. In doing so, they contribute to the rich culture and identity of a city, benefiting the residents and the community as a whole. It can also, however, lead to the gentrification of a city that displaces original residents, including the artists themselves. In an interview, Jasper Wong, artist and founder of the global street art festival, POW! WOW!, referred to this phenomenon as “graffitification” (Mufson, 2016, para. 11). Graffitification, or graffiti-gentrification, is the idea that when artists move into a neighborhood, foot traffic in the area increases, causing small businesses to open in the area, which in turn attracts large businesses (Mufson, 2016). This phenomenon has occurred in many cities around the world, including Brooklyn, Bushwick, Boston’s SoBO, Atlanta’s Five Points, and Chicago’s Wicker Park (Mufson, 2016). Even cities such as Miami’s Wynwood District, San Francisco’s Mission District, Downtown Los Angeles, Melbourne, Sydney, London’s East End, and Berlin have seen this phenomenon. Artists naturally beautify worn down neighborhoods with their creativity and artwork. According to Mufson (2016), artists are therefore partially responsible for rent increases. However, they are also responsible for positively revitalizing declining neighborhoods.

Historically, artists move into neighborhoods with low rent that they can afford and ample space for their art, typically poor industrial urban neighborhoods of working class people with empty warehouses and lofts (Makagon, 2010). According to Bolton (2013), these artists that are

commonly identified as agents of gentrification are typically younger individuals from middle-class families that are rejecting suburbanism and desire to be in an exciting urban atmosphere. These artists settle in declining and disadvantaged neighborhoods and through their artwork, the neighborhood increases its cultural capital and becomes more desirable to live (Makagon, 2010). It is therefore argued that the living quality is raised as a result of the artists' beautification of the neighborhood.

Due to this reputation artists have for the gentrification of the beautified urban neighborhoods they inhabit, artists have been called "shock troops, urban adventurers, artist-settlers, trailblazer, early barbarians, or risk-oblivious youth" and, overall, "precursors to gentrification" (Makagon, 2010, p. 41). Artists have often been used by public policy makers as agents of regenerating the physical landscape and economy of cities in decline (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). In developing a neighborhood, local artists are important to these policy makers to create a positive and improved self-image of the community (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005).

There has been some support shown by developers providing opportunities for artists. In some cases, the gentrification of a community full of artists has led to a mutual beneficial relationship between the developers and artists (Makagon, 2010). Developers and landlords partner with the artists to build residential properties for the artists (Makagon, 2010). There are many instances, however, of the revitalization of a community leading to developers selling the artists' properties to higher paying residents (Makagon, 2010). Thus, the artists become displaced in the very neighborhoods their art beautified while the gentrifiers generate a large profit in consequence.

A distinction must be made between the artists who are displaced by developers and the

original residents of a neighborhood who are displaced by the developments and even the artists. Many times, artists classify themselves together with the original inhabitants of a gentrified neighborhood who share the same distress of displacement (Makagon, 2010). However, the artists and original residents usually differ. Artists have the ability and privilege of relocating to another space and using their skills to survive, an opportunity that the generally poor original residents do not have (Makagon, 2010). Another difference is that the low-income original residents, who hope for a better and improved living environment as a result of the urban development, are displaced and must move out of their neighborhood to which they probably are emotionally connected (Makagon, 2010). These original residents, who are there before the artists arrive, are then also pushed out of their own community. To say these original residents are “generally poor” means they may be unemployed or have low-income jobs and can only afford to live in low rent industrial neighborhoods. This is not to say all original residents are of this background.

Harris (2012) looks into the gentrification in Hoxton, London caused by art. During the 1980s, deindustrialization of inner city neighborhoods in London occurred (Harris, 2012). Most jobs in the area during the 1960s were part of the manufacturing industry (Alves, 2007). However, during the 1980s, around 65 percent of the manufacturing jobs were lost, leaving much of the industrial land vacant (Harris, 2012). This created the ideal cheap and empty spaces for artists to move into. By the 1990s, the artists that moved into Hoxton had created a flourishing environment of art, design, fashion, and music (Harris, 2012; Alves, 2007). Since Hoxton had not been previously associated with any art scene or culture, the artists had the opportunity to establish a new art scene and culture to gain recognition from the art world in London (Harris,

2012). Towards the end of the 1990s, these artists were no longer able to afford the inflated rent prices caused by revival of the neighborhood that they themselves helped to create (Harris, 2012). Now, Hoxton is a popular neighborhood of boutiques, restaurants, bars, and high-end apartments (Harris, 2012). This exemplifies the concept of graffitification. The artists who beautified Hoxton became displaced after they beautified the neighborhood and raised the value of the land.

Cameron and Coaffee (2005) examine the arts-based gentrification of Gateshead, England. Gateshead is a town in northeast England that formerly was an “industrial metropolitan borough” (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005, p. 47). The town saw a steady industrial decline as mining, manufacturing, and engineering industries closed. This led to contaminated land and unemployment. To repopulate and regenerate the town, the Gateshead Council implemented a “public arts programme to add value to individual and small-scale regeneration projects and to encourage private-sector regenerators to work in partnership with the local state” (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005, p. 48). They hoped adding art into the community would stimulate a renewal of the town. A few examples of the art programs they implemented include a cultural quarter, comprised of the Baltic Art Gallery and Sage Centre for Music and Performing Arts, and the Art in Public Places Programme, which developed public sculptures and artwork to add to the landscape of the town (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). Traditionally known as a poor and ugly town, Gateshead is now a popular hotspot. The urban renewal attracted successful professionals willing to pay extremely high rent prices, resulting in a boost in the housing market of Gateshead (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). Gateshead is now one of the most popular locations for property in England. The Gateshead Council’s long-term strategy of using art as a catalyst for regeneration

and gentrification of the town was very successful (Cameron & Coaffee, 2005). This exemplifies one circumstance of artists gentrifying a neighborhood. In this circumstance, public policy makers purposefully used art to stimulate the gentrification of a derelict community.

2.5 POW! WOW! Hawai‘i

POW! WOW! is a network of artists that organizes many art events and resources. Jasper Wong, an artist from Honolulu, is the founder of POW! WOW! (“UO Interviews: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i,” n.d.). After studying illustration in San Francisco, Wong moved to Hong Kong to practice his art. In 2010, the first POW! WOW! festival took place in Hong Kong. It consisted of Wong and four of his artist friends in a self-made, open door, and open-studio gallery. After this first event, Wong decided to move back to Hawai‘i, where the first POW! WOW! Hawai‘i event took place in Kaka‘ako in 2011 (“UO Interviews: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i,” n.d.).

Every February since the first POW! WOW! Hawai‘i event, artists from around the world cover the walls of the industrialized Kaka‘ako community with colorful murals (Mufson, 2016). These artists range from well-known international street artists to established local artists in Hawai‘i to artists who have never picked up a paintbrush before. In 2015, POW! WOW! held its sixth annual festival in Hawai‘i, which included 120 artists collaborating on more than 60 murals throughout the Kaka‘ako neighborhood (“UO Interviews: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i,” n.d.). POW! WOW! has become worldwide, expanding to Japan, Taiwan, Long Beach, California, and the South by Southwest event in Austin, Texas (Mufson, 2016). POW! WOW! is even expanding to locations such as Israel, Singapore, Jamaica, Guam, and New Zealand (Wong, 2013). POW! WOW! has also added two free educational school programs for children focusing on art and

music to aid the lack of art in Hawai‘i’s public school systems (“UO Interviews: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i,” n.d.). Also included in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i are gallery shows, lecture series, concerts, many of which take place at the artist collective, Lana Lane Studios (Wong, 2013).

The lead artists that are invited by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i have their event supplies, travel, and accommodations paid for by POW! WOW! (Chun, 2014). This is with the help of their many sponsors, including RVCA and Hawaiian Airlines, who supported POW! WOW! Hawai‘i from the start (Chun 2014; Galderia, 2016). Going beyond the annual festival, Hawaiian Airlines works with Jasper Wong and Kamea Hadar, co-lead director of POW! WOW!, to curate its art gallery in their corporate headquarters (Galdeira, 2016). Hawaiian Airlines also shows its support for POW! WOW! Hawai‘i and for the artists of POW! WOW! by collaborating with the artists to paint vehicles used in operations (Galdeira, 2016). As the festival has grown, so has its support from many individuals and businesses in Hawai‘i.

According to Jasper Wong, POW! WOW!’s name was inspired by comic books: “POW is the impact that art has on the viewer” and “WOW is the viewer’s reaction to the work” (“UO Interviews: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i,” n.d., para. 3). Together, Wong explains, *powwow* is a Narragansett and Massachusetts Native American term meaning, “gathering that celebrates culture, music and art” (Wong, 2013, para 1; Powwow, n.d.). During the week-long event in Hawai‘i, Wong explains they “give a cultural tour to visiting artists in hopes that the lessons learned from Hawai‘i will inspire the work in some way” (“UO Interviews: POW! WOW! Hawai‘i,” n.d., para. 9). This encourages the artwork and murals to reflect the culture of the community in which it beautifies. Therefore, according to Munson (1992), Hawaiian influences are preferred in the artwork to portray the community of Hawai‘i. Nonetheless, this does not

mean artists are commissioned to create any specific content in their art. Even so, individuals living in or visiting Hawai‘i have the opportunity to experience a new cultural atmosphere by attending and participating in the festival. Wong explains the goal of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i is to beautify Kaka‘ako with urban art and to use art to bring people together (Garcia, 2014).

2.6 Kaka‘ako

“Kaka‘ako” is a Hawaiian word that translates to dull or slow (“Kaka‘ako,” n.d.). Kaka‘ako is an area in the city of Honolulu located on the island of O‘ahu, Hawai‘i. According to the Hawai‘i Community Development Authority (HCDA), the Kaka‘ako district spans 600 acres and is bound by Pi‘ikoi Street, King Street, Punchbowl Street, and Ala Moana Boulevard (“About Kaka‘ako,” n.d.). Kaka‘ako once was a fishing village of the Native Hawaiians (Garcia, 2016). It has since turned into a growing, commercialized, and industrialized area between Honolulu’s Downtown area and Ala Moana Shopping Center.

In ancient Hawaiian times, Kaka‘ako was made of fishing villages, fishponds, and salt ponds (“Our History,” n.d.). The area was a coastal swampland under the rule of King Kamehameha I and was used for producing salt, cleaning, practicing religion, and landing canoes (Gibson, 2011). As late as the 1930s, Kaka‘ako’s salt ponds, fishponds, and taro fields were still present (Grandenetti, 2015).

The 1800s marked the start of the commercialization of Kaka‘ako (“Our History,” n.d.). Commercial and residential buildings were built to support the growing population in the area (Gibson, 2011). Kaka‘ako was made up of various immigrant groups that lived in close knit “camps,” or clusters of houses that were named for landlords, streets, or ethnic groups (Gibson,

2011, p. x). The different ethnic groups that lived in Kaka‘ako included Caucasian, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese, and Puerto Rican (Gibson, 2011). Kaka‘ako was known to be a “poor, tough district” (Gibson, 2011, p. x). Although many of the Kaka‘ako residents grew up economically deprived, they embraced a strong sense of community and were proud to be from Kaka‘ako (Gibson, 2011).

During the 1950s, Honolulu Iron Works and Hawaiian Tuna Packers opened in Kaka‘ako (Grandenetti, 2015; Gibson, 2011). As more industrial businesses and auto shops moved into Kaka‘ako, the Native Hawaiians and various immigrants were displaced (Grandenetti, 2015). During the mid-1900s, Kaka‘ako’s residential land became commercial land with more businesses and warehouses replacing residents (“Our History,” n.d.).

The Great Mahele was an apportionment of Hawai‘i land in 1848 (Gibson, 2011). With this, Hawai‘i’s royalty was given the right to claim land in Hawai‘i (Gibson, 2011). It was the first time in Hawai‘i that land could be privately owned (“The Mahele to the Overthrow,” n.d.). Land that was historically owned by families in ancient Hawaiian times were finally able to claim their traditionally owned land (“The Mahele to the Overthrow,” n.d.). With this, a portion of the land in Kaka‘ako became a part of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop’s estate, now Kamehameha Schools (Gibson, 2011). The land was originally owned by the granddaughter of King Kamehameha I, Victoria Kamamalu, and inherited by Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop (Cole, 2013). This land is now a part of Kamehameha Schools’ project, Our Kaka‘ako, which contains nine city blocks of land (“What is Kaka‘ako,” n.d.). Our Kaka‘ako is “empowering creativity, cultivating innovation and building a truly unique, local community” (“What is Kaka‘ako,” n.d., para. 1). Their vision of Kaka‘ako incorporates renewing the Kaka‘ako community through

“walkable, sustainable, people-friendly neighborhoods” (“What is Kaka‘ako,” n.d., para. 3). Our Kaka‘ako projects include Six-Eighty, a rental apartment building, and SALT, a restaurant and retailer commercial development (“Master Plan,” n.d.).

The Hawai‘i Community Development Authority (HCDA) was created in 1976 “to foster the redevelopment of Kaka‘ako” (Radway, 2005, para. 52). The HCDA is a public corporation and state agency that was established to renew and develop the community by facilitating and promoting public and private entities (“About HCDA,” n.d.). They are working to establish the Kaka‘ako community as one that is an “economically and socially viable community that can provide a range of public benefits (“About Kaka‘ako,” n.d., para. 1). Their mission is to establish a “dynamic urban neighborhood” (“About Kaka‘ako,” n.d., para. 3). On their website, the HCDA states, “The HCDA envisions itself to be the creator and leader to establish Kaka‘ako as the most desirable urban place in Hawai‘i” (“About Kaka‘ako,” n.d., para. 2). So far, the state of Hawai‘i has invested over \$217 million in Kaka‘ako, which includes new buildings and facilities being built by the HCDA for housing, businesses, and the community’s use (“About Kaka‘ako,” n.d.).

The largest private landowner of Kaka‘ako is the Howard Hughes Corporation (Creamer, 2012). The corporation owns over sixty acres of land in Kaka‘ako, including Ward Centers (Creamer, 2012). When speaking about the developments in Kaka‘ako, the senior vice president of Howard Hughes Corporation, David Striph, quoted, “We want to make it the hottest, most vibrant residential community on O‘ahu. That’s our goal” (Creamer, 2012, para. 13). Former Hawai‘i governor, Neil Abercrombie shared this same goal. While in office, Abercrombie explained, “We have a chance to initiate the next exciting urban center in the country” (Creamer,

2012, para. 4). He and many other individuals who support the gentrification of Kaka‘ako want to develop Kaka‘ako into an urban hotspot with high-rises, stores, parks, and cafes for the community to enjoy (Creamer, 2012).

2.7 POW! WOW! Hawaii and Kaka‘ako

The Broken Windows Theory was developed by James Q. Wilson and follows the idea, “If one broken window was allowed to go unfixed, the ‘theory’ said, a neighborhood’s violent plunge into Fort Apache would soon follow” (Chang, 2014, p 135). This theory was created to aid the government authorities during the 1970s to maintain a “quality of life” in New York City (Chang, 2014, p. 136). At the start of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i, landowners of the buildings in Kaka‘ako did not approve of the street art (Mufson, 2016). The landowners were unhappy with the mural “vandalism” that was being done to their property (Mufson, 2016, para. 5). They were afraid of the Broken Windows Theory. Mufson (2016) describes this theory to be, “the idea that one act of ‘vandalism’ will normalize it and send any neighborhood down a slippery slope of decay” (para. 5). Eventually however, Kaka‘ako landowners accepted Jasper Wong’s street art festival when he promised to paint over any murals landowners did not like (Mufson, 2016). Wong has also committed to separate artists and their work with the sponsors of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i (Mufson, 2016). This means refraining from including any commercial logos or advertisements in the murals. This helps to prevent the commercialization of the artwork, meaning the art will be about the art and not advertisement or money. Over the past seven years of the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i festival, the number of murals has increased from a few to over 60 murals, illustrating the growing acceptance of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i (UO Interviews: POW!

WOW! Hawaii, n.d., para. 1).

An article in 2012 quoted Jasper Wong on his reasoning behind why Kaka‘ako is a great location for the street art:

Hawai‘i doesn’t have an arts district—Chinatown was trying to be one, but now it’s more of a bar and club scene—so Hawai‘i is in need of one. Arts districts often start off in industrial zones, so Kaka‘ako could be that perfect spot. And the best way is to put paint on walls.

It’s one way of bringing art to the people. Galleries can create barriers, but this way people are forced to see it. (Creamer, 2012, para. 45)

With Kaka‘ako, developers have put a lot of effort into including artists and the Hawaiian community in the process of their developments (Grandenetti, 2015). But at the same time, the thriving culture in Kaka‘ako has attracted gentrifiers as a successful selling point for their new commercial developments (Grandenetti, 2015). The new condo, The Collection, states on their website, “Putting an art on construction barriers has become a common practice at many high-profile projects as developers seek to beautify untidy sites and generate goodwill among neighbors in the face of community upheaval” (Constructive Creativity, 2015, para. 4).

Examples such as this illustrate how developers of new high-end condominiums are commissioning new artwork as well as using existing artwork, like those by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i, to attract businesses and residents into the Kaka‘ako community. By doing this, developers are contributing to the displacement of small businesses and artists spaces that have revitalized the Kaka‘ako community. By attracting new residents and businesses, the original business owners and residents are being pushed out, either because their properties are being demolished or because of the skyrocketing property taxes. Nonetheless, even with this

displacement, the developments have attracted many local businesses that can afford to sustain their businesses in the new and growing community. For example, South Shore Market in Ward Village and SALT of Our Kaka‘ako are two new gathering places in Kaka‘ako filled with local businesses. Some of which include Big Bad Wolf, Kealopiko, Mori by Art + Flea, Hank’s Haute Dogs, Lanikai Juice, and 9Bar HNL.

In Kaka‘ako, the recent urban beautification and increase in popularity created by the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i festival has attracted many developers who want to build condominiums in a new, attractive, and artistic neighborhood (Mufson, 2016). This has resulted in many of the buildings that POW! WOW! Hawai‘i uses for their mural paintings to be demolished to make room for more condominiums and high rises. Examples of such include Ward Warehouse and Fisherman’s Wharf, both of which are set to be demolished by the end of 2017. According to the 2010 Hawai‘i state census, 2,970 people currently live in Kaka‘ako (State of Hawaii Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism, 2010). With the new developments planned to come up in the area, 4,500 new housing units will open (Silver, 2015). These housing units are meant to address the deficit of affordable housing but low-income residents will only have access to five percent of the housing (Silver, 2015). This, however, can lead to a commercialized and wealthy town that has no room for artists to create more street art or original residents to afford their homes.

3 RESEARCH QUESTION

According to Honolulu Civil Beat, “The majority of the city’s buildings are a muted and unsatisfying beige color, making the city literally pale against the imposing scenery” (Fox, 2014, para. 2). This is in reference to Honolulu and is typical throughout the islands of Hawai‘i as well. Jesse Souki, the director of Hawai‘i’s Office of Planning, says, “Honolulu favors ‘colors that don’t detract from the view’” (Fox, 2014, para. 2). Kaka‘ako was once an area where many of Hawai‘i’s blandest buildings were located, as well as an area people never thought to stop and enjoy. Now, Kaka‘ako is a popular community that has seen growth and development, along with the displacement of local businesses and residents, in recent years. In the same recent years, POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has entered the Kaka‘ako neighborhood. Nowadays, a mural by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i can be seen on almost every block throughout Kaka‘ako.

It has been said that POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s festival in Kaka‘ako not only brings artists from around the world together but also revitalizes and beautifies the neighborhood (Fox, 2014). Past studies have examined this relationship between artists and the beautification of a neighborhood. In some way or another, Kaka‘ako has grown into a flourishing and arguably beautiful community. Is POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s street art the reason for this?

This study aims to analyze the role street art plays on a community in Hawai‘i. It examines the role street art in Kaka‘ako plays on the Kaka‘ako community. This study helps to determine whether or not street art is responsible for the beautification, revitalization, and gentrification of a neighborhood. It delves into the role street art plays on individuals and communities as a whole and whether that role is a positive, negative, or neutral one.

3.1 Research Question

RQ: How do community members perceive the role of street art on the Kaka‘ako community?

3.2 Definitions of Key Terms

Perception

Perception is the “process by which sensory stimulation is organized into usable experience” (“Perception,” 2012). It is the way an individual translates and understands his or her world and what is happening in that world. Sight, smell, sound, touch, and taste are the sensory stimulations individuals use to process an experience. This experience is how an individual perceives his or her world and what is happening. This study understands “perceive” to be just this—how individuals process what is happening around them. More specifically, how individuals understand what is happening in the Kaka‘ako community.

Role

The term “role” implies there is an effect happening. In this study, “role” will refer to the cultural, social, psychological, and economic effect street art and POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has on a community. It looks at the many different facets of the role street art has on a community as perceived by the community. It analyzes this role street art plays on the Kaka‘ako community as a whole as well as analyzes the role it plays on the individuals within the community. This study explores whether community members perceive the role of street art to be direct or indirect in Kaka‘ako. The results investigate the role of street art in Kaka‘ako so that it can be applied to other communities around the world.

Street Art

In this study, “street art” is defined as art that is created within the streets of a public space. Since the most well-known street art created by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i in Kaka‘ako are murals, this study will focus on murals. Murals refer to art made on a wall, whether it is a stencil, poster, or painting. Street art can occur on “billboards, buildings, and other unexpected but prominent places” (Catz, 2014, p. 16). The street art analyzed in this study includes murals on the sides of buildings and walls in Kaka‘ako. It does not include illegal graffiti nor tagged writing and symbols. Business and landowners all preapprove POW! WOW! Hawai‘i to use their walls for the murals. The street art itself is not commissioned by the businesses and landowners, meaning the content of the art is still controlled by the artists themselves. These notions are not consistent with the common definitions of street art, which considers street art to be illegal. It is, however, consistent with the definitions of public art, which is art that is approved and legal. Riggle (2010) writes, “In a sense, all street art is public art, since all street is public. But to what extent is public art street art?” (p. 253). In other words, can all work that is in the public sphere also be considered street art if it is on the street? Does the illegality and placement of an artwork define whether it is street art or public art? This study serves to clarify these questions and determines whether community members understand the art in Kaka‘ako made by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i to be street art, public art, or perhaps a new type of art.

Community

There are many ways the term “community” can be defined. Guetzkow (2002) explains the two different criteria in defining community are propinquity and group membership.

Proximity refers to the proximity between individuals, such as neighborhoods and states.

Group membership refers to the categorization between individuals based on specific characteristics such as race, gender, and occupation (Guetzkow, 2002). Guetzkow (2002) states, “Researchers may use one of two methods for classifying people into communities: one method defines community on the basis of criteria imposed by the researcher; the other defines community in accord with individual’s self-identification” (p. 14). In this study, “community” is defined in terms of both proximity and group membership. The “Kaka‘ako community” refers to the area bounded by Pi‘ikoi Street, King Street, Punchbowl Street, and Ala Moana Boulevard, as defined by the HCDA (“About Kaka‘ako,” n.d.). It also refers to the group of individuals who visit and work in the area. In other words, it refers to those who consider themselves to be a part of the Kaka‘ako community. Since individuals may have different definitions of what geographical area is considered Kaka‘ako, respondents were asked to define the Kaka‘ako area.

4 METHOD

This research is a qualitative study. Conducting a qualitative study is appropriate in answering the research question because it explores the different opinions and perspectives of individuals. This is important in understanding the role street art plays on the community. Qualitative research is important in understanding different phenomena that occur in the natural world (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). Creswell (1998) defines qualitative research:

Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of information, and conducts the study in a natural setting. (p. 15)

Qualitative research is based upon the perceptions and understandings of human researchers (Stake, 2010). This is different than quantitative research, which is based upon on measurements and statistics (Stake, 2010). Qualitative studies are “interpretive, experience based, situational, and personalistic” (Stake, 2010, p. 31). It analyzes the different meanings, perspectives, and perceptions of individuals (Stake, 2010). Qualitative studies “seek people’s points of view, frames of reference, value of commitments” (Stake, 2010, p. 15). In qualitative research, uniqueness and diversity is encouraged (Stake, 2010). While quantitative research focuses on a few variables, qualitative research looks at many variables (Creswell, 1998). It portrays the studied phenomenon in all of its facets, dimensions, and layers (Leroy & Ormrod, 2010). Different than quantitative research, qualitative research aims for understanding through a personal approach of the researcher (Stake, 2010). The researcher is considered to be an instrument in qualitative research because the research interprets his or her results based on prior

biases (Leroy & Ormorod, 2010).

One qualitative method of research is interviewing. Interviews allow the researcher to acquire the unique perspective of the respondent (Stake, 2010). Qualitative interviews are flexible, continuous, and iterative (Babbie, 2007). This means the prepared set of questions are not set in stone; they can be asked in a different order and expanded to other related topics brought up by the respondent (Babbie, 2007). Qualitative interviews are organic in structure (Babbie, 2007). The questions are often open-ended which in turn results in more information than a researcher plans (Leroy & Ormorod, 2010). Interviews allow a researcher to understand a respondent's facts, perspectives about facts, feelings, motives, behaviors, and reasons for behaviors and feelings (Leroy & Ormorod, 2010).

Interviewing members of the Kaka'ako community was an appropriate method implemented in this study to properly understand their perception of the role of street art within the community. To explore the research question, individuals involved with POW! WOW! Hawai'i and Kaka'ako were interviewed. These individuals consider themselves as members of the Kaka'ako community. Three categories of individuals were identified as ideal respondents to interview: mural artists involved with POW! WOW! Hawai'i, business owners in the Kaka'ako community, and consumers of goods and services in the Kaka'ako community. By interviewing different individuals within the Kaka'ako community and POW! WOW! Hawai'i community, the role that POW! WOW! Hawai'i's street art has on Kaka'ako was better understood.

A purposive sampling method was used in the recruitment of respondents. This means respondents were selected via the researcher's judgment. Tongco (2007) explains this sampling technique is also referred to as judgment sampling where "the researcher decides what needs to

be known and sets out to find people who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of knowledge or experience” (p. 147). This method was appropriate for this study because the population size of potential participants was specific and small. Using this method allowed for better data because respondents were selected based off of their knowledge of the research topic. By purposively selecting individuals that fit into the three categories, a more diverse sample of individuals were chosen. For example, different business owner respondents were selected to cover a wide variety of business types. Using this method was beneficial in the case of street artists, who may need to remain anonymous due to the illegality of their work, and with business owners, whose answers may affect their business. By using purposive sampling, I selected individuals to whom I have personal connections or were recommended to me by those personal connections who were more willing to participate.

Artists involved with POW! WOW! Hawai‘i that were potential respondents for this study include Jasper Wong, the founder and lead director of POW! WOW!, and Kamea Hadar, the co-lead director of POW! WOW!. Interviewing Wong and Hadar would be beneficial to this study because they could provide valuable insight on the intentions and goals of POW! WOW!. Since Wong has previously expressed his opinions on the impacts of street art in communities, it would be beneficial to interview him on his unique perspective of the phenomenon. Other potential artists were those who previously participated in the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i festival. This excludes artists that are musicians and performers since this study focuses on street art. Some of these street artists included Matthew Tapia, Kai Kaulukukui, Sergio Garzon, Gary Draws Fish, Mung Monster, Bother, Jeffery Gress, and Kris Goto. All of the previously listed street artists are based in Hawai‘i or have participated in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s festival. This was

important in order to schedule an in-person interview. This also meant they were more likely to be familiar with the recent developments in Kaka‘ako. See Appendix A for the artist interview questions.

The business owners in the Kaka‘ako community were selected to represent various types of businesses local to Hawai‘i. Potential businesses that were considered included BIKEFACTORY Hawaii, a local bike shop; Highway Inn, a Hawaiian cuisine restaurant; Aloha Dog, a dog groomer and daycare. Business owners were selected based on their business location, all of which were located within the vicinity of Kaka‘ako as defined by this study. Interviewing business owners was valuable to this study because they provided their unique opinion on how the recent growth of Kaka‘ako and street art has affected the community and their businesses. See Appendix B for the business owner interview questions.

The consumers of the Kaka‘ako community were selected on the basis of individuals I know that frequent and consume goods and services in the Kaka‘ako area. Also included were individuals who have attended the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i event or were familiar with the street art in Kaka‘ako. Using the purposive sampling method provided a better population of respondents than using a random sample of individuals in the Kaka‘ako area who might not have been familiar with the research topic. This ensured the respondents interviewed were at least somewhat familiar with the Kaka‘ako community or the street art in Kaka‘ako. See Appendix C for the Kaka‘ako consumer interview questions.

After conducting the interviews, I transcribed the audio recordings. I analyzed the data collected in these interview transcripts by looking for similarities and differences amongst the interviews. In this data analysis, I looked for emerging themes.

5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

To answer the research question, “How do community members perceive the role of street art on the Kaka‘ako community,” respondents were asked questions related to four categories: Kaka‘ako, POW! WOW! Hawai‘i, Street Art in Kaka‘ako, and Gentrification and Street Art. First, respondents were asked how they understood the Kaka‘ako community and gentrification in Kaka‘ako. Themes that emerged in this category included geographical boundaries of Kaka‘ako, respondents’ experiences in Kaka‘ako, gentrification of Kaka‘ako, and the future of Kaka‘ako. Second, respondents were asked of their knowledge and understanding of the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i street art festival. Themes that emerged from this category included respondents’ experiences of the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i festival, defining the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i, and the idea that POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s street art is equivalently understood as all street art in Kaka‘ako. Third, respondents were asked about the roles in which street art plays on the community. Street art’s cultural, social, psychological, and economic role were the themes that emerged under the category of Street Art in Kaka‘ako. Lastly, the relationship between the gentrification in Kaka‘ako and street art was discussed with respondents. The two themes that emerged under the category of Gentrification and Street Art were street art’s effect on gentrification and gentrification’s effect on the artists. These themes all contribute to the understanding of how the community members perceive street art in Kaka‘ako.

The POW! WOW! Hawai‘i 2017 festival spanned two weeks in the beginning of February. Events included a block party in collaboration with Honolulu Night Market, a print show, an artist talk, a soccer game, a dance battle, and a closing concert with Steve Aoki. Interviews took place before, during, and after the 2017 festival. Interviews with respondents ranged from 12 to

100 minutes. The majority of the interviews were 20 to 45 minutes long. The total number of respondents that participated in this study was 22. This includes eight artists, six business owners, and nine consumers.

Amongst the eight artists were six males and two females. All of these artists have participated in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i in some way, either as lead mural artists or artist volunteers. Five of the artists grew up in Hawai‘i. Four artists were volunteers and three artists were lead artists in the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i 2017 festival. One artist was unable to participate in the 2017 festival but has participated in multiple previous POW! WOW! festivals in Hawai‘i. The eight artists are labeled Artist A-H. See Table 1 for a description of the artist respondents.

Table 1
Description of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i Artist Respondents

Respondent	Gender	Role in 2017 POW! WOW! Hawai‘i
Artist A	Male	NA
Artist B	Male	Volunteer
Artist C	Female	Volunteer
Artist D	Male	Volunteer
Artist E	Female	Volunteer
Artist F	Male	Lead Artist
Artist G	Male	Lead Artist
Artist H	Male	Lead Artist

The Kaka‘ako business owners included three male and three female individuals who own either service, retail, or restaurant businesses. All businesses were located within the geographical boundaries set by this study and have been located in the Kaka‘ako community for one to fifty years. The six business owners are labeled Business Owner A-F. See Table 2 for a description of the business owner respondents.

Table 2
Description of Kaka‘ako Business Owner Respondents

Respondent	Gender	Type of Business	Years in Kaka‘ako
Business Owner A	Female	Service/Retail	10
Business Owner B	Male	Restaurant	10
Business Owner C	Female	Service	10
Business Owner D	Female	Retail	1
Business Owner E	Male	Service	7
Business Owner F	Male	Service	50

The nine Kaka‘ako consumers included four males and five females. All consumers said they frequent the Kaka‘ako community for retail stores, restaurants, cafes, and other various events. Three consumers work in the Kaka‘ako neighborhood as well. Two consumers are married and own a condominium in Kaka‘ako but do not live there; they occasionally stay there during the weekends but still visit the Kaka‘ako area often regardless. All consumer respondents consume goods and services in the Kaka‘ako community. The nine consumers are labeled Consumer A-I. See Table 3 for a description of the consumer respondents.

Table 3
Description of Kaka‘ako Consumer Respondents

Respondent	Gender	Age	Type of Businesses Respondent Consumes
Consumer A	Female	Early 20s	Retail Stores
Consumer B	Male	Mid 20s	Restaurants
Consumer C	Female	Late 30s	Restaurants/Events
Consumer D	Male	Mid 30s	Restaurants/Events
Consumer E	Male	Mid 20s	Restaurants/Events
Consumer F	Female	Late 20s	Restaurants/Retail Stores
Consumer G	Female	Early 50s	Restaurants/Retail Stores
Consumer H	Male	Early 50s	Restaurants
Consumer I	Female	Early 20s	Restaurants

5.1 Kaka‘ako

Geographical Boundaries

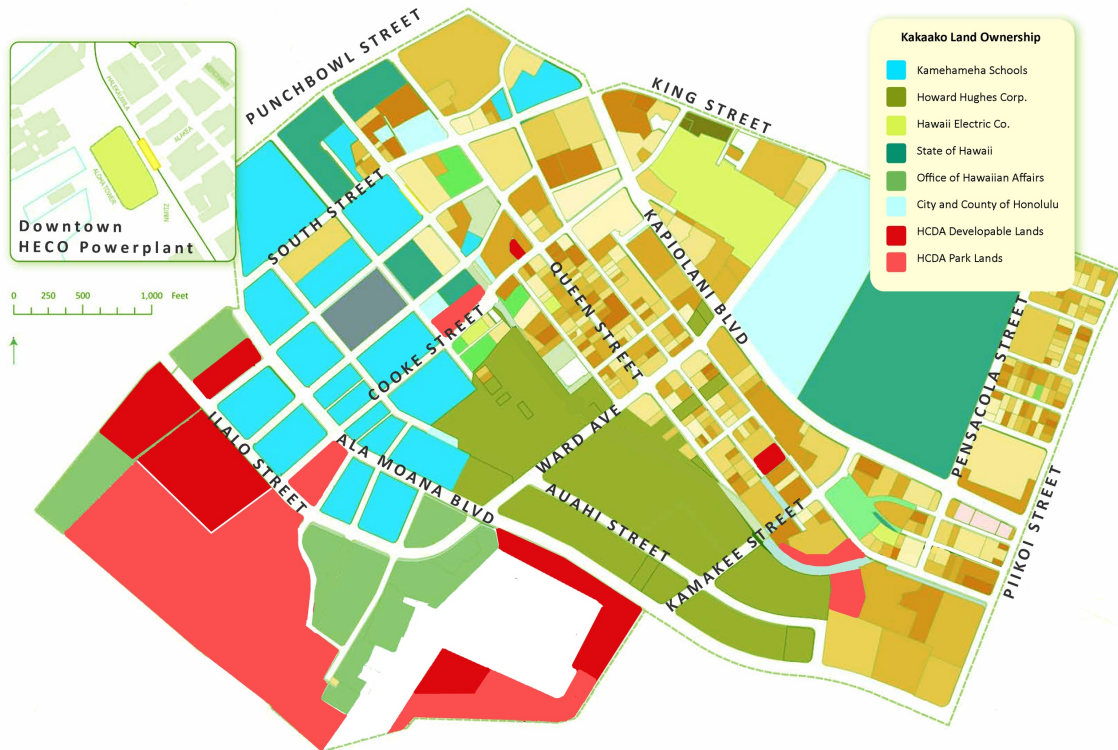


Figure 1. Map of Kaka‘ako as defined by the HCDA. Reprinted from Kaka‘ako Land Ownership Map, In *Hawaii Community Development Authority*, n.d. Retrieved April 17, 2017, from <http://dbedt.hawaii.gov/hcda/files/2013/06/Kakaako-Land-Ownership.jpg>.

Figure 1 illustrates the boundaries and streets of Kaka‘ako as defined by the HCDA. Figure 1 also depicts the different landowners in Kaka‘ako. There are many ways respondents defined the geographical boundaries of the Kaka‘ako community. There was a unified agreement Kaka‘ako starts from Ala Moana Boulevard along the ocean. The majority of respondents said Kaka‘ako’s north boundary ends at Kapi‘olani Boulevard. However, one respondent said it ends at Halekauwila Street and another said Queen Street, both of which are

closer to the ocean than Kapi‘olani Boulevard. There were various opinions on the east and west boundaries of Kaka‘ako. Respondents thought the west boundary is either South Street or Punchbowl Street, depending on whether or not the respondents felt Restaurant Row was a part of Kaka‘ako. Responses regarding the east boundary extended from Ward Avenue all the way to Pi‘ikoi Street, depending on the respondent’s perspective if the Ward Village developments were included in Kaka‘ako.

Other respondents did not state street names that border the Kaka‘ako area. Instead, they understood it to be the area between other geographic areas. Consumer I said Kaka‘ako is the area between Ward and Downtown. Consumer A explained, “I’ve never thought of Kaka‘ako from that point? I think a lot of places in Hawai‘i I differentiate by shopping center. So, Ala Moana is one area, and then Ward Warehouse, and then Kaka‘ako feels like its own thing.”

For many respondents, the Ward Village area and Kaka‘ako area are two separate places. A handful were not aware Ward Village is included within the boundaries of Kaka‘ako, as defined by the HCDA. Artist G identified two parts of the Kaka‘ako community: the old Kaka‘ako and the new Kaka‘ako. To him, Ward Avenue is the divider between these two parts of Kaka‘ako. The old Kaka‘ako is the west side of Ward Avenue while the new Kaka‘ako is the east side of Ward Avenue. He associated the new Kaka‘ako to be the new Howard Hughes Corporation developments of Ward Village. The old Kaka‘ako “has that older feel and definitely more industrial feel. Obviously, it’s being developed as well, but it still has that kind of rawness that I know and love.”

Overall, the boundaries of Kaka‘ako, as expressed by respondents, were much smaller than what the HCDA defines Kaka‘ako to be. When I told Business Owner A that the HCDA’s

definition of Kaka‘ako includes the area up to King Street, she commented: “I’m a huge supporter of the arts so including that whole Blaisdell area would make sense. I don’t know if I would agree with IBM up to King Street.” After telling Artist H many people do not include the area above Kapi‘olani Boulevard to be a part of Kaka‘ako he stated, “Yeah, there’s a few blocks there that’s mostly just office buildings [and] office spots not really noted to be part of the Kaka‘ako most people talk about.”

While some respondents defined Kaka‘ako in the same way as the HCDA, many others thought Kaka‘ako was more confined to the area where most of the developments have been occurring. For Business Owner E, Kaka‘ako stretched from Auahi Street to Pohukaina Street and South Street to Cooke Street six years ago but now is a much larger area that includes more developments. Business Owner F, however, had no opinion of the geographical boundaries of Kaka‘ako. He expressed, “I don’t have any opinion on that. But I think the city does. I don’t really care. Who cares?”

Experiences in Kaka‘ako

There was a large number of negative responses from respondents regarding their opinions of Kaka‘ako’s gentrification. While many individuals expressed they enjoyed the effects of the recent developments in Kaka‘ako, including new restaurants and stores to explore, the number of negative responses of the Kaka‘ako developments was overwhelming. Even so, many respondents explained they enjoyed the new places to visit and the overall beautified look of Kaka‘ako. Business Owner A explained:

We like to say we are the whole ‘live, work, play’ thing that a lot of the developers are

trying to use as their tagline. Live, work, and play all in one place. It's frustrating to us a little bit because a lot of the condos that are coming up, the people don't even live there. It's just investment real estate from Asia or things like that. We would really love to actually live in Kaka'ako.

Consumer G and Consumer H are a married couple who recently purchased a condominium in Kaka'ako. They will rent out their condominium sometime this year but, for now, they spend occasional weekends there. Even though they do not live at the Kaka'ako condominium all of the time, they said they spend more time in Kaka'ako to enjoy themselves:

We have a condo now. So, we like to spend time there. And it's very, very convenient to walk across the street and eat dinner or get coffee at SALT and have a couple of drinks. And even to walk in the opposite direction to Restaurant Row. So, that's convenient. And if we had to we could walk to Ward. And we can just walk back, we don't have to drive.

But they also noted, even if they did not have a condominium in Kaka'ako, they would still frequent the restaurants and bars there, even if it would be less convenient for them. Artist B said he spends too much time in Kaka'ako, whether he is there for business meetings, social gatherings, or enjoying the different places Kaka'ako has to offer. This was common to other artist and business owner respondents.

Business Owner E explained that in this process of development, there are many negative effects he had to endure. He said, "When the road is torn open and they're working on the sewer and your office smells really bad for a couple months, those aren't the favorite times to come to Kaka'ako to work." He felt that change is good but going through change is challenging:

Even though the change is for the better and it's cool to have this vibrant neighborhood, going through change sometimes isn't always pleasant. Whether it's losing parking or gaining parking but losing another favorite business that used to be in that building, or seeing some of the business go away that were a part of Kaka'ako before anybody knew it was here. Those may not always be happy and pleasurable moments.

These unpleasant experiences that come with change were a common topic with other respondents. For example, the constant change in parking areas and rates. According to Consumer B, Kaka'ako is changing so quickly it feels different whenever he visits the community. Logistically, he thought it would not be sustainable in the future because of the infrastructure of Kaka'ako, especially the parking. Parking is a rare commodity for businesses to have in Kaka'ako. Business Owner F stated, "I'm one of the few people with property that has parking so that makes it a pretty good commodity." His favorite memory of Kaka'ako was the fact that there was no traffic when he first moved to Kaka'ako. Business Owner D said, "The parking is kind of horrific everywhere, as it is in Hawai'i anyway." She said the SALT parking structure is free for only one hour, which is an unreasonable amount of time to sit and enjoy a meal at a nice restaurant. Business Owner C said street parking around her business is a separately owned entity that businesses need to pay for in addition to their rent. The limited amount of parking in the community affects businesses because customers must go through the inconvenience of finding parking and paying a high fee for a short amount of time.

A few respondents felt that while the buildings in Kaka'ako have been developed, the community is still not walkable yet. Consumer B explained developers are trying to make the community like a college campus where everyone can walk everywhere in order to limit the

usage of vehicles. Yet, he argued that driving is the preferred method of transportation in Hawai'i. Consumer I explained it is dangerous to walk in some parts of Kaka'ako because there are no crosswalks and the roads are of poor quality. She also believed there are not enough places to walk to but believed once Kaka'ako is fully developed, it will be a great walkable community. Consumer D also argued, although Kaka'ako is being marketed as a walkable and healthy community, the circulation for community members to navigate the area by foot or bike is not safe.

These negative effects of the development in Kaka'ako has had a great impact on local businesses in the area. The rise of property taxes was a common response from many respondents, especially business owners. The construction itself has also impacted the businesses. Business Owner A argued that customers associate Kaka'ako with construction, little parking, and a place that is "not quite ready for public spaces." This affects businesses by discouraging customers from visiting Kaka'ako and therefore the businesses in Kaka'ako. In addition, the congested traffic keeps customers from visiting the area. Business Owner F noted the increase in traffic affected his business before he sold it two years ago. When asked how the development has affected his businesses he said: "Two things. Traffic getting in here; traffic getting out of here. It was terrible. It was just too much trouble to get down in here." He explained the traffic was a hassle for his customers. Business Owner C noted Kaka'ako is a very crowded and busy area but argued the entire island of O'ahu is a very crowded and overpopulated area, so it is to be expected that the community will be busy.

Gentrification in Kaka‘ako

Overall, many respondents thought Kaka‘ako is experiencing some form of gentrification. There were, however, a few respondents that disagreed. These individuals thought Kaka‘ako is not gentrified or not in the process of gentrification but will become gentrified in the future. Business Owner D did not think Kaka‘ako is gentrified yet. She explained if people start to move into the area then it would become gentrified. Similarly, when asked if Kaka‘ako is being gentrified Business Owner B replied, “Not in my relative view of gentrification. It is in a very, very light manner. Perhaps in a period of decades, then yes it will be gentrified. Given its growth, it’s being staged for that. But I’m used to gentrification happening relatively in a shorter span of time.” Consumer A explained she sees it potentially going in the direction of gentrification, just as anything in Hawai‘i.

Gentrification is seen as inevitable and a part of living on an island to a few respondents. Artist G believed because Kaka‘ako has been revitalized and beautified, development is inevitable: “Especially in Hawai‘i. We live on an island and it’s a very limited amount of land and area that we have. Seeing as how central Kaka‘ako is, how centrally located it is in Honolulu, it is inevitable that it will be developed.” Also accepting of gentrification as an inevitable occurrence was Business Owner A, who saw gentrification as an example of how our society values money. She expressed she does not blame developers and landowners for investing in Kaka‘ako because “it just makes dollars and cents.”

The few respondents that said development and gentrification of Kaka‘ako will inevitably happen and is happening because it is located on an island allude to the idea of colonialism. These respondents felt no matter what, Kaka‘ako will be developed because it is a common

occurrence in Hawai‘i. This idea can be related back to Captain Cook’s arrival in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 (Crabbe, 2007). Since then, the United States of America has continually colonized Native Hawaiian lands. Crabbe (2007) explains the history of Hawai‘i’s land being taken and colonized by the United States:

By the time of the overthrow in 1893, nearly two million acres of land were taken from the Kingdom of Hawaii without compensation. The provisional government further fragmented the kanaka maoli’s ties to the land when the Republic of Hawaii ceded all public lands to the US government with the 1898 annexation. Moreover, in 1900 the US seized control of all governmental and public lands. The Kingdom was declared an official territory and the US continued to use lands for the establishment of military bases, parks, government buildings, and other public entities. Conversion of Hawaii to statehood in 1959 allowed the US to continue the use of portions of ceded lands. Some acres were designated to the State of Hawaii to manage and hold in trust for Native Hawaiians. Nevertheless, the federal government and the State of Hawaii possess approximately 40% of Hawaii’s land that was illegally ceded. (Crabbe, 2007, pp. 27-28)

The history of Hawai‘i’s colonization has been interminable and unfortunate to many Native Hawaiians and local Hawai‘i residents. The long history of the constant development of Hawai‘i’s lands may be the reason for this idea presented by respondents that Hawai‘i is an island bound to be developed and gentrified. Even the notion that gentrification encompasses not only development but also displacement, is applicable to this idea of colonialism. It is the Native Hawaiians that were displaced by Westerners colonizing and developing Hawai‘i.

Business Owner C shared her personal thoughts on the recent developments in Kaka‘ako,

separate from her business perspective. She said she has been on the Hawaiian homes list since she was 18 years old and is now 40 years old. She expressed:

As a kanaka maoli, as a native to these lands ... everybody knows that our land was taken, that our land was stolen. So, speaking from a kanaka maoli perspective, because that's who I am, that's where I come from, it is not fair all around. It is unfair as a native, what happened to what belongs to our people. It is not fair at all. But what is it, as a kanaka maoli, what more can I do.

She thought it is unfair the land of Hawai'i is being developed for commercial use since many Native Hawaiians are not able to obtain land themselves, especially as the rightful owners of the land.

Other respondents felt Kaka'ako's gentrification is positive with no negative consequences of gentrification. Consumer E mentioned, "It's definitely being developed and in a positive light right now. I don't think it's gotten to that point of big businesses tryna take over." Artist A noted, "It holds a lot of promise for a lot of people [and] different opportunities." Business Owner F appreciated all of the development happening because it is bringing a variety of businesses to the area, making it convenient to get everything he needs in one area.

Though many respondents acknowledged the development aspect of gentrification, many failed to recognize the displacement aspect. Artist H recognized there are two parts of gentrification: development and displacement. However, he did not agree Kaka'ako has experienced both aspects of this gentrification:

Gentrification a lot of the time has a negative connotation because it ensues that it's pushing out lower classes. But Kaka'ako was never a residential area that is pushing out

these classes. I don't think it displaced a large community unless you're talking about some of the homeless communities that have been in the area. I think that it's not the same type of gentrification that a lot of people put a negative connotation on in other cities.

Artist H, amongst many other respondents thought Kaka'ako has never been a residential area. These respondents, therefore, did not agree displacement is happening in Kaka'ako, unless homeless people are acknowledged as residents. Consumer C said she never thought Kaka'ako to be a place where people lived before the condos were built. Business Owner A explained she had recently heard that a musician had grown up in Kaka'ako. She was surprised and confused someone had grown up in Kaka'ako; she was not aware Kaka'ako was a place for residents. A few other respondents did not acknowledge any residents being displaced at all, including the homeless population. They only understood the displacement of Kaka'ako to be the displacement of local businesses. Consumer G shared his reason on why the Kaka'ako developments are positive, "Considering the existing community isn't that good, so yes it's to make it better hopefully. Because the only thing that was there was old businesses, right." Differently, Artist B did not think Kaka'ako has been gentrified because, although a lot of new high rises are being built, Kaka'ako still has its soul and there are still many small local businesses in the area.

Overall, many respondents did not acknowledge the displacement aspect of gentrification. If displacement was discussed, it usually was in reference with the homeless population in Kaka'ako. It is important to not disregard the displaced population. The term "gentrification" often ignores those that are displaced in the process of development. Many times, wealthy

individuals and developers are the focus in conversations of gentrification. It is important, however, to recognize the displaced population. Knight and Gharipour (2016) explain, “All too often, as neighborhoods improve, poorer residents are uprooted and forced into even more distressed conditions elsewhere” (p. 7). They continue to state that the renewal of an urban community only benefits the community and pushes out original residents occupying the community by increasing expenses (Knight & Gharipour, 2016). While the displacement of residents can occur intentionally by developers, it can also occur unintentionally when revitalization triggers these increased expenses, especially rent prices (Knight & Gharipour, 2016). It is, therefore, important to address the displacement aspect of gentrification in Kaka‘ako in order to not ignore those that have been negatively affected by recent developments.

The phenomenon of revitalization triggering displacement seems to be the case for Kaka‘ako. The revitalization of the Kaka‘ako community has increased property taxes and therefore rent prices, pushing out original residents and even businesses who can no longer afford to live there. A few respondents noted that affordable housing in Kaka‘ako is not necessarily affordable for poorer residents anymore. Consumer D acknowledged the displacement of residents other than businesses and homeless people. Specifically, he noted about the effect gentrification has on low-income residents and how they will be pushed out of Kaka‘ako if property taxes continue to rise. Business Owner C spoke about how homelessness and affordable housing is a huge issue in Hawai‘i. She explained she had just helped her friend move into a Kaka‘ako affordable housing apartment where the rent is \$1,470 a month for a single mother that must work two minimum wage jobs to pay her rent. While she said there are “affordable” housing opportunities in Kaka‘ako, the rent prices are not that affordable,

exemplified by the \$1,470 monthly rent price. Naturally, as property taxes rise in the community, rent prices will increase. This means affordable housing will not be as affordable for low-income families who currently struggle to pay their rent, thus displacing these residents with those that can afford the higher rent prices.

Affordable housing often caters to the working middle class (Hollier, 2010). The HCDA has mandated that housing in Kaka‘ako cater to Hawai‘i’s workforce (Hawaii Life, 2015). 801 South St and Halekauwila Place are two new affordable housing apartments in Kaka‘ako. “Affordable homes for local working people,” “Modern housing for Honolulu’s Workforce,” and “Real prices, for real people” are phrases on the websites for these two affordable housing apartments (801 South St, n.d.; Halekauwila Place, n.d.). The pricing for the 801 South St apartments ranges from \$252,200 to \$501,300 (801 South St, n.d.). The monthly rent price for the Halekauwila Place apartments ranges from \$994 to \$1458 (Halekauwila Place, n.d.). Though these prices may be standardized for low-income housing, it does not consider that many current Kaka‘ako residents cannot afford the increased prices caused by the development and revitalization of the community. It also does not address the homeless population in Kaka‘ako that cannot afford the high expenses of these affordable housing apartments. These individuals and families are the ones being displaced in Kaka‘ako and forced to relocate to other communities that they can afford.

Kaka‘ako’s Future

In the future, respondents thought Kaka‘ako will be even more developed and more of a gathering space, especially for tourist. Artist H thought, “everything between Waikiki and

Downtown Honolulu is going to end up being a high-end area that's owned majority by rich people and a lot of them being foreign investors. It's [going to] be a high-end destination for travelers and people around the world." Many respondents felt there will be a dramatic increase of residents, which will fuel more businesses into the area, and therefore more traffic. There were a few concerns of how developers and landowners will maintain Kaka'ako in the future. Business Owner E questioned this:

I don't know the commitment that the landowners have to continually changing Kaka'ako. Are they done with what they have now or is there gonna be more change coming? Initially, the plans were very big and I don't know if those plans are still the same anymore. So, I think Kaka'ako's future, in terms of change, is unknown.

Business Owner A was worried developers will let their properties sit since they have already made their money from selling them. These respondents were concerned for the future of the development of Kaka'ako, hoping positive growth will continue.

5.2 POW! WOW! Hawai'i

POW! WOW! Hawai'i was a very familiar term between the business owner and consumer respondents of this study. Yet, only three business owner and consumer respondents have ever attended an event during POW! WOW! Hawai'i. Other respondents have seen the murals or have seen the artists painting the murals. One business owner was not aware there are any murals in Kaka'ako. Another business owner has collaborated with POW! WOW!, offering his business' wall as one of the mural locations for the past three years.

Overall, the mural artists of POW! WOW! Hawai'i concluded the main purpose of the

street art festival is to foster community gathering with art. Instead of focusing on having finished pieces, POW! WOW! Hawai‘i focuses on creating an experience for the community to gather and enjoy. Artist G explained:

The two founding principles [of POW! WOW!] were collaboration and the process of opening the process [of art] to the public. It’s not just about creating art. It’s about building relationships. So, all these people that are involved, the audience, the community, the business owners, the artists from different countries, and the different places and local artists; having them all connect. That’s a big part of what POW! WOW! is. And that is just as important for the murals. The murals are a kind of catalyst for that. The idea is that it’s about the process of creating art and not necessarily a finished product hanging in a museum. So, even if we paint over [the murals], it doesn’t matter because the beauty was in creating it, not it sitting there forever.

Similarly, Artist B said the main concept of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i is to “bring everyone together through art.” According to Artist F, “Now there’s international interest in Hawai‘i for art, which we never had before.” Likewise, Artist C argued POW! WOW! Hawai‘i “established Hawai‘i as an internationally recognized art community.”

Experiences of POW! WOW!

There were many positive experiences of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i expressed by the respondents. Business Owner D walks around the Kaka‘ako community every year after POW! WOW! Hawai‘i to see all the murals and to take photos of them. Artist B expressed, “I think that it’s brought a lot of attention to the neighborhood, like turned it into a walking open air

gallery. It's brought a lot of exposure to Hawai'i and the neighborhood through all of our media and everything that we do." Similarly, Artist H thought POW! WOW! Hawai'i has "visually changed the landscape more than anybody else. And that's what I think is the main responsibility for the majority of people that come into town. [It's] the catalyst for bringing interest to the neighborhood." These two artists also felt their involvement with POW! WOW! Hawai'i has given them great opportunities and experiences. Seeing people come together and enjoy the art, as well as seeing artists collaborate and create new art is very rewarding for Artist B. Artist H expressed the positive experiences he has had through POW! WOW! Hawai'i:

Being able to meet a big group of artists and create a network of artists and friends from around the world from all the different POW! WOW!s. I was able to get feedback by people not from Hawai'i but were established in art and design. It was really nice to have that input and feedback from professionals outside of Hawai'i.

Overall, respondents agreed POW! WOW! Hawai'i allows the community to come together to enjoy art.

POW! WOW! Art Defined

In terms of respondents' opinion on the art itself, many thought the murals are beautiful. Some, on the other hand, prefer certain murals over others. One business owner did not appreciate any of the street art at all. Another business owner, Business Owner A, said, "I have ones that I prefer to others. But I don't see a problem with it. I don't oppose it, definitely." Business Owner B stated, "I am selective. Some of it is marvelous, some of it I find very unappealing." Consumer G thought:

Some of them are really nice and some of them are just okay. It looks like nice graffiti.

And some of them are interesting. Sometimes you look out and it looks like amateur painting and it doesn't necessarily look nice or add to the view. When it looks nice and looks like art and adds to the way the area looks versus someone just tryna be creative.

But I guess that's just someone's perspective of art.

All respondents but one acknowledged that the street art of POW! WOW! Hawai'i is some form of art, whether they thought it was beautiful or not. When respondents were asked to define the type of art that is made in POW! WOW! Hawai'i, there were many different opinions.

The one respondent, Business Owner F, who disliked the street art in Kaka'ako argued, "Well, first of all, I don't call it art. I just call them a bunch of junk. But that's in the eyes of the beholder. I think they're ugly. I think it's terrible. That's not Kaka'ako." The rest of the respondents called the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai'i street art, public art, graffiti, art, a mix of street art and public art, or a completely new type of art.

Business Owner D understood the work made by POW! WOW! Hawai'i to be art: "First of all, I call it art. I think it encompasses all kinds of art because you have to be very talented to do what they do on a large scale like that." Consumer H did consider the street art a form of art, however, he also noted that he is unsure of what it should be considered:

I don't know what I consider street art. I don't know what I think of street art. Because I think street art is a different generation. There wasn't any of that when we were growing up. When I look at some of it, I think of it as graffiti some of the time. So I don't know if I necessarily like some of it or not. I don't know if it adds anything valuable to the area or if it takes away from the area.

He also added, “I don’t know where the line is between graffiti and where it becomes art.” Other respondents who were unsure where the line is drawn between public art and street art also brought up this idea. Consumer A explained:

POW! WOW! in a weird sense is in between. Because I feel like a lot of it stems from street art. But I think because there’s permission beforehand and there’s kind of a process, it seems more leaning towards the public art kind of line. But I think that it’s a good in between that you can kind of get a good idea of what it is but at the same time, it’s very more open to the community.

Other respondents said it is both street art and public art because it is on the streets of Kaka‘ako and it is free and open to the public. Respondents were confused by the definitions of street art and public art stated in the question asked during their interviews. They were unsure if the legality of an artwork is the only defining factor between street art and public art. Interestingly, one respondent brought up the Outdoor Circle, a local Hawai‘i organization whose mission is to enforce billboard laws and maintain the natural beauty of Hawai‘i: “I’d say a mural probably has an even stronger message or political stance than a logo. So what’s the difference of putting a huge [business sign] or putting like Queen Lili‘uokalani’s face on a wall?” This brings up a great point since there are strict laws regarding outdoor advertisements in Hawai‘i.

In defining and differentiating the terms “street art” and “public art,” Artist A described, while they are just terms, public art is a more formal term more often used for academic and funding purposes:

To me, for something to be street art, it actually has to be outdoors and it actually could be done legally or it could be done illegally. It’s done with intention or maybe no

intention. For public art, I think museums and galleries now use that term of public art because it's a more accepted term or hashtag now used in social media for museums and galleries to use because it's a more formal term that has link to people that have intention when they do public art because when you use the word public, it's thought of as someone that has probably organized a group to think about the community that this public art is being done in. Public art is usually done with other nonprofit organizations, or schools, or universities, or institutions, or a gallery, or a museum to actually sponsor a public art mural. You usually don't hear or read in the grants, or the newspaper, or things in the museum world about street art. In the end, it's just a term but I think public art is more used in the academic art-funding world.

Many respondents understood POW! WOW! to be solely public art, however not following this definition proposed by Artist A. Artist G argued, "People talk about the difference between graffiti and street art and these different movements that are happening. To me, all of it is public art. Whether you wanna call it graffiti or you wanna call it street art, whatever you wanna call it. To me, it's large scale public art." Similarly, Business Owner B reasoned, "It's definitely public art. Probably what I've seen in my life, street art to me tends to be more spontaneous, that it comes and it goes. These, they're having longer visibility terms. They may come up and they stay for a few years and then be redone."

A couple of respondents did not define POW! WOW! Hawai'i art in terms of street art, public art, or graffiti. Instead, they saw it as a new era or a new art movement. They understood POW! WOW! Hawai'i's art to be greater than the individual pieces. To them, POW! WOW!

Hawai‘i is still new, undefined, and evolving. Therefore, it does not have a title to define it.

Artist B emphasized:

I don’t think there’s a real term for it yet because people are still tryna figure out what it is really or like where it’s going or where it’s coming from. I think it kinda spans multiple disciplines and multiple cultures, which is great. It’s really about bringing art to the people. But it’s really sort of undefined still. I feel it’s still very organic and changing.

Business Owner E also thought the art of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i is a new category of art:

To me, POW! WOW! is its own category. I know they’re murals, technically speaking, they’re a mural. But when I think of street art, I’m thinking of much more. You know, close or street level interaction with an artist and not as much a longer lasting mural up on the wall. So, I don’t know if I’d call it myself street art and I don’t think mural gives it enough of a description or is justice of really what it represents. If you look at any one piece of art in POW! WOW!, it’s a mural. It’s cool what it is. But when you come back from a different perspective and see the whole neighborhood and the vast covering of walls that POW! WOW! represents, to me, it’s more than just a street art or mural.

That’s why I say I always just call it POW! WOW! art.

Meaning, the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i is not justified by the terms street art, murals, or graffiti. Using such terms limits its grandiose role in Kaka‘ako. It is not about each art piece in itself. Rather, it should be looked at as a whole.

POW! WOW! = Street Art in Kaka‘ako

Overall, most respondents associated POW! WOW! Hawai‘i with the street art in Kaka‘ako. In other words, POW! WOW! Hawai‘i and Kaka‘ako’s street art were synonymous. When referring to street art in the Kaka‘ako community, unless otherwise stated, respondents were referencing the street art made during the POW! WOW! Hawai‘i festival. Respondents also referred to street art as the murals in particular, since that is the most well-known and abundant type of street art in Kaka‘ako.

Due to this finding of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i street art being equivalent to the Kaka‘ako community’s street art as perceived by respondents, the subsequent sections on street art will follow this. References to street art in Kaka‘ako will be understood as street art made by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i in the following sections of this study.

5.3 Street Art in Kaka‘ako

Respondents were asked what role they perceive street art to play in Kaka‘ako in regards to cultural, social, psychological, and economic terms.

Cultural Role

Culture in Hawai‘i can be a challenging term to unravel. Hawaiian culture and Hawai‘i culture should be differentiated. Hawai‘i is a melting pot comprised of more than just Hawaiian culture. When respondents were asked what they thought has been the cultural role of street art in the Kaka‘ako community, they clarified whether they were speaking about the Hawaiian culture or Hawai‘i’s culture as a whole.

Hawaiian culture references the culture of Native Hawaiian ancestry and traditions. Respondents thought street art has sparked an interest of Hawaiian culture. By including murals in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i that incorporate and reference Hawaiian culture, viewers of the murals are thus exposed to the culture. Respondents felt when people see the murals, it sparks a conversation that might not otherwise be happening. This is exemplified by Consumer E’s response:

There are some pieces that I’ve seen before where it was heavily inspired with Hawaiian culture. When people are attracted to that kind of stuff, it sparks curiosity and when they spark curiosity, people just really appreciate that, in a sense. When someone expresses their idea or a story or some kind of concept, it gets people thinking. I think that with the artists that are selected or given the opportunity to do murals, they are definitely making the community better—getting them thinking.

Business Owner A also agreed including the Hawaiian culture in the content of the street art provokes the community to think and ask questions. She quoted, “At least it gets people asking questions. If you’re asking a question, that’s good to me. That’s good if someone’s asking [a] question because they saw [a mural]. That’s positive for the culture.” Not only does street art about the Hawaiian culture intrigue audiences to learn about the culture, it also provides the culture a new form of expression. Consequently, the Hawaiian cultural discussion is livened, according to Artist H. By illustrating stories about the Hawaiian culture, viewers become interested in what the illustrations are narrating and the culture in which the stories originate. It also gives artists from Hawai‘i and artists of Hawaiian descent the opportunity to share the stories of their culture. Consumer I suggested that instead of the street art just being decorative, it

serves a more educational purpose. She argued that the street art in Kaka‘ako “shows [a person] a glimpse into the young and old culture,” especially to a tourist, for example, that may not know much about the Hawaiian culture.

When referring to the Hawai‘i culture, respondents noted street art in Kaka‘ako is forming a new Hawai‘i culture, which respondents referred to as young, artistic, and contemporary. Artist H remarked, “There’s kind of a new contemporary culture that wasn’t popular in Hawai‘i or at least it wasn’t as mainstream. That’s been able to flourish now that there’s been a lot more outside media sources and other people that are commenting on the area.” Business Owner B expanded on this by explaining the new Hawai‘i culture is younger and artistic since the community is more open to the act of creating street art than they were before. In other words, it has created a younger and artistic culture where street art is now acceptable: “It’s rather novel to allow graffiti or to actually create graffiti. It’s just arriving spontaneously. So, I think that’s where it’s unique in that particular aspect.” He noted that allowing both highly regarded artists and younger upcoming artists to create these murals, in a way, legalizes the act of “graffiti,” and with this acceptance is an excitement with this freedom of creation. He stated, “I do think it has changed [the culture] in liberizing the control of what is on the property.”

A few respondents said street art allows different cultures to be showcased in Kaka‘ako. One individual thought this street art festival allows the artists to share where they are from. Another individual, Business Owner D, thought the street art encompasses a wide variety of cultures, especially because the artists come from around the world: “It seems to be a lot of mix [of cultures]. I think they bring people from all over the world to do it so there’s all kinds of different influences. I think last year there was Native American ones and there’s some Asian

ones and some Hawaiian. So, I think there's a great mix."

Street Art's Social Role

Respondents were most responsive when elaborating on how street art contributes to the social role of the Kaka'ako community. When respondents were asked about the role that street art plays on the community, their responses were primarily social. One theme within the social role of street art was community building, which encompasses a safer community, revitalization, and beautification. Another theme was community identity. Overall, respondents were very positive in explaining the social roles that street art plays in the community.

Respondents recognized street art transforms Kaka'ako into a gathering place; meaning street art is attracting a broad audience to the area and encouraging people to stay in the area. In other words, street art is helping Kaka'ako to be more open and inclusive to everyone. The audience attracted to today's Kaka'ako therefore differs from the audience attracted to Kaka'ako before street art became pervasive in the community. As far as indicating whom the street art is bringing to the Kaka'ako community, Consumer H said, "The crowd is varied; you have young people, you have old people. Just a lot of different people coming to that area. Mostly [local people] and then there's some tourist. Bringing people to the area. So, I guess the art is a part of that." Consumer A also agreed there is a wide variety of people attracted to the up-and-coming Kaka'ako neighborhood. When she went to Kaka'ako to see the different POW! WOW! Hawai'i murals, she explained there were individuals of all ages there: "People with their kids, people college-aged, younger people. It makes it more accessible to a greater variety of people."

Kaka'ako as a gathering place also refers to the way street art brings people together to

interact with one another. Business Owner A explained this:

In general, I think people are so consumed by day-to-day tasks and technology and kind of just staying in their own lane. I think any opportunity to get people to gather and to take in art, whether it be music or murals or whatever it might be. I think bringing groups together to consume art is something that's missing from our culture in general. Whether art is good or bad or ugly, just the fact that it gets people out I think is important. Talking to one another face to face ... is something our society lacks.

Consumer F also described how street art has brought people together to interact with one another:

I think it plays a role in just bringing people together. You bring your family out and if you can stand and look at a wall for a couple minutes with your family or friends, that's cool. It's just another way to experience time with people or with yourself. To me, that's one of the most important things is fostering community. I think we've lost community. I think it's so expensive to live here that people work really hard long hours and they don't enjoy life. So if there's anywhere that can foster that [and] just have somewhere people can go and have fun, I love that. And it's all in Kaka'ako I feel.

Consumer F thought street art in Kaka'ako has fostered a fun community where there was none before. In other words, street art has built a community that members want to be in.

This concept of community building is illustrated through comments of various online articles advertising and reflecting on the POW! WOW! Hawai'i 2017 festival. These online articles perceived POW! WOW! Hawai'i 2017 as a gathering place in a vibrant neighborhood that brings the community together via art. One article reported, "Art, music and food come

together in Honolulu's most progressive neighborhood every February for a festival called POW! WOW! Hawai'i" (Heen, 2017, para. 1). This same article also wrote, "As these great creative souls from around the world gather in Honolulu's hippest neighborhood once more, the people of Kaka'ako look forward to the colorful makeover that leaves its imprint year-round. Mahalo to the artists!" (Heen, 2017, para.7). In another article, Li (2017) attributed POW! WOW! Hawai'i's successful community building to its inclusiveness. Olsen (2017) recounted, "With a vibrant blend of live art installations, exhibitions, panel discussions and concerts – including Steve Aoki, who closed the event – the POW! WOW! project continues to shine a spotlight on local art scenes while fostering a sense of community within the art world" (para. 1). These articles illustrate how the public perceives street art and POW! WOW! Hawai'i in Kaka'ako. This correlates with the respondents' perceptions in this study.

Another aspect of transforming and building the Kaka'ako community is safety. Respondents felt street art in the community has led to a safer environment. Artist G told a story he witnessed in Kaka'ako about two men he knew chasing down someone who robbed a lady's purse:

I remember the first or second POW! WOW! somebody snatched a purse at, I think it was, a coffee shop. I remember somebody snatched a purse and two guys that I knew chased the guy down and got the purse back. To me, it was kind of a sign. When you're in a kinda forgotten part of the city, there's not really people around so stuff like that can happen and maybe it'll go unnoticed or unchecked. But all of a sudden, when you pump life into a community, people start taking pride in the community and they start saying 'We're not gonna let stuff like this happen here.' We want it to be a safe place.

As street art brings more people to this new gathering place of Kaka‘ako, a sense of comradery is felt throughout the community, where community members support and protect one another.

Many other respondents referred to a safer environment as one unoccupied by homeless individuals and acknowledged how street art assists in that circumstance. One individual noted street art has encouraged people to hang out in the area because there are more eyes on the street, which leads to less homeless people and less negative behavior. Respondents noted since POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has brought street art to Kaka‘ako, there have been less homeless in the community. For example, Consumer E stated, “I do know there are a lot of homeless people that roam around and what not. But from what I see, it’s so much better than what it has been.”

Business Owner A expressed, “There’s a lot of, of course, homeless population. But I’m sure, during POW! WOW!, the homeless people are kind of like, ‘I’m gonna move out of Kaka‘ako for that month because there’s so many people around.’ You know, there’s no privacy.”

Business Owner E recognized the homeless being pushed out of Kaka‘ako as a form of displacement and gentrification: “When we first got to Kaka‘ako, there was homeless all around the area that we were doing events. Just in a few months of doing [those events], the homeless took it upon themselves to leave. It was no place they wanted to be. That was a form of gentrification.” Business Owner A also stated that street art has played the role of revitalizing the community so that it is easier to go to the area and “you don’t feel like it’s run down or just for homeless people.” In many of the interviews with respondents, the decline of homeless individuals in Kaka‘ako was often associated with the concept that it is now a safer community to visit.

Art has been known to have overwhelming positive influences on a community, especially

art events such as POW! WOW! Hawai‘i. This is exemplified by Borrup (2015), “Annual or seasonal events such as festivals or farmers markets can be especially effective in communities with great social, ethnic, and economic diversity. The processes used to plan and carry out these events are at least as important as the events themselves” (p. 15). Comparable to many of the responses in this study, the creation process of the street art in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s festival is very valuable for community members. Bringing a community together to interact with one another while viewing the street art and being exposed to new ideas, concepts, and cultures in the street art, are valuable results of having a street art festival in a community. The importance of art in a community is further conceptualized by the following quote:

Art works to support creative, economically-competitive, healthy, resilient, and opportunity-rich communities. Art is an essential part of building a strong community. Artists and community development practitioners across our nation – sometimes one and the same, sometimes working together – are striving to make places more livable with enhanced quality of life, increased creative activity, a distinct sense of place, and vibrant local economies that together capitalize on their existing assets. (Exploring Our Town, n.d., para. 1-3)

Street art supports community building by helping the whole community and the individual members within the community. The result of this is an overall improved community. Kaka‘ako is understood as the street art community to both local and foreign individuals. With the street art, individuals can actively and safely walk, engage, and view the street art, as well as interact with other community members and visit businesses in Kaka‘ako. As a result, the local economy is fueled by these individuals when they purchase goods and services from different business in

the community. In turn, Kaka‘ako’s quality of life is improved as the neighborhood becomes more populated. Respondents seem to now be proud of what Kaka‘ako has become and are happy they are able to be a part of the community.

In addition to community building, revitalization and beautification of the community was another common theme when respondents were asked about the role of street art in Kaka‘ako. Common words respondents used to describe the revitalized and beautified community included “vibrant,” “urban city,” “friendly,” “edgy,” “cool,” and “pumped with life.” Street art has shined a light on Kaka‘ako and has given members of the community a reason enjoy the area. Respondents agreed street art has changed Kaka‘ako from a forgotten warehouse district to a vibrant urban city. As an example, Business Owner D said:

I think it made it look more like an urban town instead of just a warehouse district. It used to just be a warehouse district but then they built up a lot of these things. Even before, they built all of this, when they started doing all of the artwork, it just made it a little less desolate.

Similarly, Consumer A thought the street art made the community more accessible to all:

There’s more people walking around the area and ... because there’s more attention to that area, there might be more effort to fix it up and make it more accessible. It’s helped to at least bring that community up into the public eye and, with that, there’s more people looking at it ... [who] begin to think more about what the community needs.

Business Owner E expressed that street art has beautified the activities that are happening in the area. Consumer I also agreed that the street art has beautified what is happening in Kaka‘ako, making the community more friendly and less “scary and uninviting.” She explained that all of

the developments and activities happening in Kaka‘ako are an effort to make the community more “liveable,” in which the street art plays an important part. Consumer F explained:

I think it has taken a really broken down part of Honolulu and made it really edgy and cool and it supported local artists. There aren’t many organizations that support artists and it’s made them viewable to the public, it exposes them. It really just enchanted the area.

Warehouses aren’t pretty but because it’s a warehouse with a super cool color or a cool mural, then it’s extra cool.

In regards to the artists supporting this beautification and revitalization of the Kaka‘ako community, Artist G explained how street art and POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has played an important role:

I feel like we’ve brought a spotlight on a once forgotten part of the city. The murals have become a spotlight. And, also, you’re bringing value and attention to these once forgotten buildings as well. I mean it’s not that hard to beautify a building with a thin layer of paint. POW! WOW!’s role, I feel, has been pretty huge in the revitalization of Kaka‘ako. I mean you can revitalize a community by pumping millions of dollars to rebuild all of these buildings and you can also just revitalize an area by bringing a little bit of light, like paint and color, to an area. Which in turn brings people, which in turn can sustain ... local small businesses and pump life into a community.

This artist recognized that there are two ways to gentrify a community, by using investors to develop the land or by using art to make existing walls beautiful with a little paint and color.

Other individuals spoke of the revitalization and beautification as a way to shed light on, what they call a “forgotten and dead community.” Many respondents viewed Kaka‘ako in this

way. They felt that before the developments and street art, Kaka‘ako was an unnoticed and overlooked part of Honolulu. Consumer A understood street art as a tool that has helped in unveiling the Kaka‘ako community in a positive way. She explained it brings attention to an area that people might not have noticed before. Consumer F said, “I think it’s brought a youthful and creative and expressive energy to a place that felt like it was dead. If you think about Kaka‘ako 10 or 15 years ago when it was all warehouses and industrial, no one would ever wanna go there.” Now that street art has revitalized and beautified the community, more attention has been focused on the area. It is now a popular spot to visit for both locals and tourists alike.

The revitalization and beautification street art has aided in Kaka‘ako has also helped to create a new identity for the Kaka‘ako community. Many respondents agreed street art has given Kaka‘ako something to which it can be known and recognized. As one respondent phrased it, street art has become the “brand of everything that is in Kaka‘ako” that has been imposed to condominiums, restaurants, retail stores, even the industrial warehouses that make up most of Kaka‘ako. Business Owner E stated, “It gives it something to be known by. I think having the painting on the walls really helps to give it an identity. I would say between street events and constant art on the walls has really set Kaka‘ako apart in Hawai‘i. But it also put it on the map for the rest for the world.” Before, Kaka‘ako was talked about in terms of location. People typically referred to Kaka‘ako as a passing through area. Nowadays, Kaka‘ako is a highly discussed subject for the new developments and art it has to offer. Consumer A helps University of Hawai‘i at Manoa international students with English. The students often ask her where they can find the different murals they see on the social media application, Instagram. Before, these

students would ask her about other popular locations on O‘ahu, such as Waikiki or Kailua beach. Within the last two years, Kaka‘ako is now a more prevalent topic of conversation she hears from those students.

The idea that street art has helped to create a new identity for Kaka‘ako is supported by the pervasiveness of the street art. Business Owner A argued this interesting point. She felt murals have become mainstream and pervasive throughout the entire Kaka‘ako community. It has even reached social media. She explained she cannot look through her Instagram feed without seeing someone posting a photo of a mural, especially since, nowadays, people want to be “hip and visually appealing and Instagrammable.” Business Owner A argued, since street art is so pervasive in the area and so many businesses incorporate the street art, one cannot go through the community without being impacted by it. With regards to businesses incorporating the street art, she said:

It’s almost like you have to work it in. If you’re gonna be in a place, you have to respond to that place. If the art is all around then it kind of becomes a part of your identity. It’s kind of been handed to us. [If] you’re a part of Kaka‘ako ... this is the direction you should go or these are the type of people that we are bringing to this place so you should kind of cater to [them].

This exemplifies the “branding” of street art that has been imposed on Kaka‘ako. Business owners are indirectly encouraged to support and incorporate street art into their business in order to attract customers.

Due to this street art “branding,” community members want to explore the neighborhood. A handful of respondents expressed they enjoy walking or driving around the community to find

and look at the different murals. Consumer I said the street art throughout the community excites people to take different paths to find hidden treasures, or new murals. She also noted:

If you were to go to that same place and it had nothing on the wall, it wouldn't be memorable in your mind. Associating a piece of art with a business or building ... stands out in your mind and it becomes like a landmark and then something that you'll continually go to.

An interesting point Consumer E made similar to Consumer I was, "If you took Kaka'ako and you removed all the art, what would there be? As of right now, that's the defining factor of Kaka'ako."

Respondents noted street art has branded the Kaka'ako community into an up-and-coming, vibrant, artistic, and even hipster community. The idea that street art is pervasive within the physical community and even on social media is an interesting insight. Branding a community, or a place, encompasses the reputation and perception of the community, by both outsiders and the community members (Torres, 2012; Cleave & Arku, 2015). It involves the images and information expected and associated with the community (Torres, 2012). The brand of a community is collectively created in an interactive process by community members, including all "managers, consumers, and residents" (Torres, 2012, p. 200). A community's brand is seen as authentic when the "internal identity and the external image [are] aligned" (Cleave & Arku, 2015). Community developers and planners can utilize social media to intentionally brand and market a community. However, in this case of Kaka'ako, social media has branded Kaka'ako in a more organic fashion. Residents and visitors of Hawai'i can see photos of the Kaka'ako street art on Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, Pinterest, and any other social media site. A simple search

of “#kakaakostreetart” on Instagram generates over 300 photos of murals in the Kaka‘ako community. Not only is street art pervasive in the Kaka‘ako neighborhood, it is pervasive in the online community as well. This allows a greater audience to be reached, meaning locals to Hawai‘i and tourists in Hawai‘i are exposed to the street art and the Kaka‘ako community itself. Organically, community members and visitors have branded Kaka‘ako to be the vibrant and artistic community that it is now popularly known.

Street Art’s Psychological Role

Street art’s psychological role on the Kaka‘ako community is manifested through community members’ personal experiences, exposure to art, and enlightenment through the art. Through the street art, community members are introduced to different types of art styles and concepts. Seeing this art can personally affect an individual, both positively and negatively. One might feel an emotional connection, a feeling of awe and wonder, or simply inspiration when viewing the street art. Or they might feel displeasure and disgust. Regardless, community members have a psychological experience when they are exposed to the street art in the community. Artist H stated art brings people pleasure. He sees people walk by his studio every day to observe and take photos of the murals, allowing community members to experience a great psychological lift. POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has given individuals an opportunity to appreciate art. Some businesses now want to integrate street art into their business space and brand. Business Owner A explained if it were not for being exposed to the art by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i, she would never have thought to incorporate a mural into her new business location in Kaka‘ako.

POW! WOW! Hawai'i aims to open the process of art to the community. This is a concept that generally veers away from traditional art museums, where completed art pieces are displayed in an exhibit. Instead, POW! WOW! Hawai'i has created an event artist respondents refer to as an open-air gallery or museum. Artist B stated:

[It] kind of breaks the barriers that exist in different art institutions. When we bring [art] to the people then it kind of opens it up. It brings it to everyone, which is really great because that's what I've seen happen. Everyone sort of takes pictures and try to find them. It's like open-air galleries.

Similarly, Artist H explained:

From our standpoint, it's been a place where we've been able to just turn into a canvas or an open-air museum. To take a lot of building sides that didn't have any color or anything and liven up the area with a lot of color and our artwork [that] potentially can bring in conceptual thinking as well.

Seeing the process of the murals being made adds more meaning to the finished piece. The audience feels more connected with a deeper experience when they are given the opportunity to see the process of the creating the murals. Consumer A said it helps to add a story behind the artwork.

The street art serves as an inspiration for many people, especially those who are involved in the art world in one way or another. Consumer A, a fine art student in college, said the murals inspired her to try different styles in her own drawing and painting practices. Consumer F was inspired at the large scale of the murals since she is accustomed to drawing on a small piece of paper. Consumer E, a graphic designer, said, "it fuels that creativity that, for myself, is awesome

to be around. In my field that I work in, it's good to be surrounded by that kind of atmosphere. Things aren't black and white. Things are open, things are free, there's no boundaries."

Consumer D, an architecture student, explained he took inspiration from murals he saw in Kaka'ako and incorporated it into one of his architecture projects. He used the organic lines and curves he saw in a few murals to design the forms of his project's buildings instead of designing the buildings as boxes and squares.

Opening art to the community as free and accessible, allows members to appreciate art and open their eyes to new ideas and concepts. Business Owner B felt street art, opposed to traditional art practices on canvas, gives an artist or any individual a sense of freedom: "There is a certain freedom that gives people a little more license to do something off the traditional path. As you create things, you open your eyes to a different vision. Art is expression." Being exposed to the many different murals in Kaka'ako opens community members' minds to many different ideas and concepts. Consumer D explained this: "Street art is a way of expression without using words. So, anytime you have any kind of drawing, people can interpret that in their own way. They'll interpret those images based on what they could be feeling that day or what they've gone through."

Artist E pointed out, "The areas that aren't very used to murals or if it's new to the city, then I feel as part of the mural event, a big part of the effort will be spent on educating the public so they can appreciate it as much as possible. A lot of people aren't aware of what's happening in the art world. They just never were exposed to it." In other words, communities that have not been exposed to street art need to be educated on it to fully appreciate, understand, and experience the street art they view in their community.

Street Art's Economical Role

Respondents understood that street art has an economic role on the Kaka‘ako community by attracting and advertising the community to bring local and foreign people into the area to support local businesses. Most popular amongst the responses on the economic role of street art was the theme of attraction. Street art attracts visitors and consumers who then spend their money in Kaka‘ako. Artist G argued that businesses can now survive in the area because people are there to go to those businesses. According to Business Owner A, street art has attracted more people to the area “just by nature of having more people in the area,” resulting in more people visiting and purchasing at retail stores and restaurants in the community.

Once the community understood what POW! WOW! Hawai‘i was doing, the impact it had on the community became much more noticeable. Business Owner E stated:

When POW! WOW! first started putting murals on the walls and people started understanding what that meant, which may not have been the first year, but subsequent years it really did start grasping what it meant to have all the art on the walls. I think it did have an economic effect being that it attracts people to the area.

Business owners agreed with the idea that attraction supports businesses in Kaka‘ako. When asked how street art has affected his business, Business Owner B explained:

Kaka‘ako definitely has increased its traffic over the last decade in different ways. [Street art] is part of that, or POW! WOW! is part of that, more specifically, in that there’s some other draw here. So, art is a piece of it, small business is a piece of it, and residential will be the biggest piece of it as it comes in.

Similarly, Business Owner D said street art has been helpful in attracting an audience to support

her business: “I think it aims at a younger crowd. We get a lot of people who actually like our stuff.” Artist H continued this argument by explaining:

I think a lot of the small business owners have really embraced the idea of having the artwork and everything in the area because it’s brought a lot more people to the area, which in turn helps support those businesses. So, for those small business owners, I think it’s been able to bring a lot of those social [and] economic benefits.

By beautifying walls with street art, Business Owner E felt people now want to live, work, and play in Kaka‘ako. This in turn supports businesses in the area and the overall economy of Kaka‘ako. With POW! WOW! Hawai‘i continually changing the art every year, Kaka‘ako is portrayed as an active area where people want to engage and be part of the community.

Consumer F agreed street art has brought people together to hang out and spend their money at many local businesses in Kaka‘ako. She continued that art adds a layer that influences community members to want to be in and support Kaka‘ako more: “I think the art is just another layer. I think that the addition of the art on the walls and the murals just brought another level. Like, you feel super cool when you go there.”

Consumer H, the owner of a new Kaka‘ako condominium expressed his uncertainty about whether Kaka‘ako’s street art is economically positive or negative. As an owner of a condominium he will soon rent out and may possibly live in the future, he was unsure of the value street art adds or detracts from owning a property in Kaka‘ako:

I’m on the fence. I don’t know if [street art] adds to the community or doesn’t. Because, as an owner, you want add to the value, right. So, if that brings people in, but then what people are you bringing in. If I’m 80 [years old] living in that condo and there’s Jawaiian

music down below me every night, I don't know if I'd like that either because the crowd is in their 20s. So, I don't know. Hard to say. Because I think, really, street art is more for [the younger] generation, 20s, 30s maybe. But once you get above that, I don't know if people appreciate it or just look at and think 'Oh, I don't know what that is.' I guess I'm more conservative at looking at that. Would I rather see a nice painted rainbow on the wall or just a nice pinkish colored wall?

However, Consumer H also said he is on the fence because it brings in people to support businesses, similar to the many other comments by other respondents regarding the positive role street art has on businesses.

Some respondents thought street art is a form of advertisement for Kaka'ako. They expressed that developers are using street art to market their developments, properties, and businesses. Business Owner A described this process:

I'm sure every single developer has used street art in some brochure or on their website or use POW! WOW! and its numbers to contribute to whatever numbers they quote are in the area. I'm sure that when they're selling condos they say that it's the art center of O'ahu and things like this. So, it's like free marketing for all of them.

Business Owner B also agreed street art has been utilized as a marketing tool: "It appears to be almost marketing. That it is not impulsive or random or contrived. It seems more contrived. It's attracting visitation."

Tourism was a common theme throughout many of the respondents' answers about the economic role of street art in Kaka'ako. Respondents felt there has been an increase in tourists in the community and this increase will continue. Tourism is one of the most important

economic driving factors in Hawai‘i. Business Owner E has noticed the increase in tourists. He stated, “I’ve watched Segway tours, I’ve watched bicycle tours, I’ve watched walking tours.” Artist G expressed, “The trolleys used to go to Ala Moana Boulevard and go straight past from Ala Moana Shopping Center ... straight into Chinatown and Downtown, these other areas that were more popular. Now they route through Kaka‘ako to see the murals.” In other words, tourists, who are attracted to the street art, support the economy of Kaka‘ako when they visit the local businesses around the murals. Business Owner A explained this: “There is some sort of economic drive happening because of these backdrops. People see an opportunity and a need that people don’t even know they need or want.” She continued that people monetize these opportunities in forms of, for example, tours to show people the murals.

5.4 Gentrification and Street Art

Street Art’s Effect on Gentrification

Interestingly, most consumers and a few business owners were unfamiliar with the term “gentrification.” Artist H explained his opinion as to why this is:

I think as artists we’re always concerned or we’re always forced with having to reconcile with what our actions are doing. And, a lot of blame gets put on both artists and developers for taking advantage of people by creating an area, using the artists to create an area that, in turn, out prices the artists that initially made the area cool. So, I think anywhere that’s remotely similar is occurring, then the people that are involved are conscious about that and [are] trying to determine whether or not what they’re doing is a part of that or if it’s a justifiable thing.

Even though many respondents were unfamiliar with the term “gentrification,” when asked of its relationship with street art, most respondents either agreed or disagreed with the idea there is a relationship between street art and gentrification.

Individuals who thought there was a relation between street art and gentrification first acknowledged graffitiification was happening in some way or form. Artist G acknowledged graffitiification is an occurring phenomenon. When asked whether or not he thought Kaka‘ako is in the process or has become gentrified, he responded:

You know, that obviously is a very hot button term that has been on our mind since we started [POW! WOW!]. The history of most down trotted communities, it happens all over. You have Harlem or Brooklyn in New York, ... Wynwood in Miami. Where the community is kind of forgotten and the only people that are willing to live there are either the gay community or the art community. They beautify the area with art and slowly big developers start taking notice and landowners start taking notice. And the next thing you know, the people that created the community [are] being pushed out of their own community when they get in the way of big money.

Artist B also agreed graffitiification is a concept present in today’s world and applicable to Kaka‘ako:

Kaka‘ako was more like a forgotten district out here. It’s in between two major districts—downtown Chinatown and you get to Ala Moana Shopping Center and Ward. But no one really came to these streets. People kind of skipped it over. As kids we only came out here for CompUSA or Fishers or something. As we started to do more work out here, it started to bring more attention. People came out here to try to find the

artwork. People came out here to ... explore the murals and check out everything. Then that affected local businesses, where they would discover the businesses out here and then shop or eat there. It created more food traffic and created more people, which is positive. But the property developers also see it that way too and things kind of change and alter based on that as well. So, it's good and bad."

However, he went on to say, "I think if you do it the right way, it can be good. Where we still keep a lot of small businesses and it doesn't turn into a lot of major corporate big box stores or chains." Street art brought more attention and foot traffic to Kaka'ako, thus bringing in new businesses. Business Owner E explained landowners put much effort into bringing in an artistic community to the area, however once their high-end condominiums were built, they naturally switched their focus to a different audience who could afford the high prices and property taxes, thus forcing out the original small businesses who could no longer afford it. Consumer F argued if an area such as Kaka'ako were made to be a "cool and desirable" neighborhood, then naturally bigger businesses would want to be in the area. She stated, however, artists must not be blamed for this.

Kamehameha Schools and Howard Hughes Corporation were acknowledged by respondents as the largest landowners in Kaka'ako who have been working to develop the area. It is uncertain, however, whether or not emergence of street art encouraged organizations to develop in Kaka'ako, as presented by Consumer I. In other words, has the development and street art occurred spontaneously or in a cause and effect manner? This argument is one reason some respondents did not agree there is a relationship between street art and gentrification.

One interesting opinion is that of Consumer H. He thought development came before street art: “I think it started the opposite. They started the development and they wanted to bring in the next generation kids so they brought in people to do the art. I don’t think it started with the art and art developing the area.” In other words, he felt developers are using the street art as a tool to aid the gentrification process. In comparison, Business Owner E did not agree art is a tool for gentrification: “I don’t see it as the art itself as being the tool [for gentrification]. Maybe a little bit more broad stroke would be the environment that all the artists creating was a process or a part of the process. But I wouldn’t squarely place the blame or responsibility on the art itself.” This means the environment artists are creating is one part of the gentrification process.

Business Owner C explained her business is not worried about the street art and gentrification at this point because her business has not yet been affected by either. When asked how does street art affect Kaka‘ako, Business Owner F stated, “I have no idea because I don’t care. I mean young people like it, some people like it.” In terms of how street art affects businesses, Business Owner F believed street art does not affect anything. He felt developers with money will develop regardless of the street art. Business Owner D did not think street art has influenced the gentrification of Kaka‘ako at all; rather, street art has worked against the developments that have been occurring within the community. She said, “In fact, if anything, it probably works against it a little bit.”

Artist G did not think Kaka‘ako has been gentrified. Although he agreed graffitification is a phenomenon that happens in many cities, he suggested Kaka‘ako has not experienced gentrification and therefore has not experienced graffitification:

I don't think Kaka'ako has been gentrified because luckily for us, a lot of big landowners like Kamehameha Schools and Howard Hughes are aware of how important the community is and how important POW! WOW! is to that community. So, we're lucky enough that Hawai'i is a small enough place that people still care. I would say that it's so far been revitalized but not gentrified.

Artist H shared his opinion and understanding of the developers' stance on art. He explained that six to seven years ago, landowners were interested in encouraging creative people and organizations to be in Kaka'ako in order to foster a community. These landowners had a transparent strategy in this. However, the landowners experienced a shift in directors, thus lessening the support for creative programming and facilities. He expressed that from the outside it may seem that these developers are pushing out the creative people but really, they may just be returning to the traditional real estate strategies they know to be familiar and successful.

Gentrification's Effect on Street Art

Not only does street art affect gentrification, gentrification affects street art. This is exemplified through Artist H's statement:

There's definitely been a recognized movement to try to use creatives to help build a community by the landowners and the developers. From the creatives' and the artists' standpoints, they're the ones being chosen for their work and given opportunities. So, in that case, I think it's a positive thing that they're providing those opportunities. I've seen a lot of creatives be able to take the next step in their careers and a lot of that is due to having

the opportunities that were provided over here.

In other words, the positive consequences outweigh the negative consequences. The opportunities created for artists have a much more positive effect than if there were no opportunities at all.

Although many respondents felt Kaka‘ako is heading in the direction of gentrification, some individuals expressed hope and optimism this will be done in a way that art can coexist with the development. To exemplify this, Artist B said, “We’re hoping that we can sort of keep the art alive amongst the development.” Consumer H also believed street art will continue to coexist with the developments because, over time, people will start to recognize street art as valuable art. Artist G thought if POW! WOW! Hawai‘i continues in Kaka‘ako, it may not be in its current form. He explained that the inevitable demolition of buildings will result in fewer walls for murals to live. He also noted, “We’ve already expanded all around the world. There’s always a community that could use some life. I don’t think there’s any shortage of communities that need life.” Other respondents expressed this idea as well. Street art will exist in the future in a new way because glass buildings will take the place of the walls on which they currently live.

On the other hand, some respondents thought in the future, street art will be a thing of the past in the Kaka‘ako community. Consumer B mentioned a valuable point on the longevity of the street art. He thought street art will not be able to coexist with the developments because new buildings will be constructed from glass instead of brick and cement walls on which artists typically create:

I think street art is very temporary and it's going to run against gentrification as it progresses further. Right now, if you think about what these murals are going on, it's not going on any of these new buildings that are coming up. It's on the old businesses or structures that were there for a while. But it seems like a lot of those are being changed into these high rises and it's less likely that they're gonna put these murals on there or have space for it. They're gonna have a lot of buildings with windows that don't really have space. I guess that artists are creative and they can probably figure out a way but at that point ... because [POW! WOW!] is associated with street art, there's a certain prestige that comes with the buildings and it kind of conflicts with the kind of condos they wanna have.

Similarly, Business Owner B said gentrification will “swallow up” the street art because of the very reasons that Consumer B presents. Artist A also agreed Kaka‘ako will eventually be entirely glass and concrete, similar to Waikiki, and therefore changing the layout of the community, including the street art.

Some respondents believed, despite the possibility of gentrification, it is important that street artists are provided with the opportunity to create within the Kaka‘ako community.

Business Owner A argued, “[Artists] don't really know who's going to benefit from [their] art but should that stop [them] from creating it? Then there's no art. So, what's [art] better being used for? For good and evil or to not exist?” Artist H had many intriguing thoughts on this idea of opportunity for artists, both local and visiting:

There's a larger plan always at play and the artists are usually kind of the pawn of that plan. So, they're not the culprits but because they're in the situation, where in order for

them to succeed in an industry where they're doing it commercially, then it looks like they're being taken advantage of. But at the same time, they're the ones that are working hard to be able to create opportunities. They're the ones getting the projects and opportunities. So, if it wasn't for these chances to be able to have projects and jobs, then I probably wouldn't be as successful as an artist.

Artist H felt it is unfair and shortsighted of people to blame artists as the culprits of gentrification. He thought, although graffitification may happen as a result of art, it does not mean that artists should be rejected of those opportunities. He continued to explain:

A lot of the times, people try to focus on the negative attributes or what's the seemingly negative attributes of gentrification of having creatives and artists come into an area. But what's unseen a lot of times is that a lot of these programs and art and music are the first things that are being cut from schools and cut from education. If they're not gonna have a place where they're going to be supported and encouraged, then we're going to have less exposure to the arts and to culture then if we did have these areas within cities that it's allowed to flourish a little bit more. So, it's not always a negative thing. It's definitely provided stepping-stones and a lot of great opportunities and it's given kids a lot of inspiration to be able to kind of follow dreams that are slowly kind of disappearing from our normal education system.

Using artists as a tool to increase interest and culture to a community is understood as a positive concept in this sense, especially if it means it is the only way to incorporate art into a community. Similarly, Artist F described his experience in working with the Kaka'ako landowners:

Trying to please everybody is really hard. Kaka‘ako is that perfect spot where you just have to talk to two owners. And because they were redeveloping and because they were changing the landscape, they wanted something that would help with the uplift. It was super industrial. So, they figured let’s get some art in here and it’s basically the same formula for gentrification that happens everywhere.

When Artist F first met with the developers of Kaka‘ako and saw their development plans, he recognized it was gentrification. He initially had a negative response, but explained:

Going and visiting our ancestors, visiting our ali‘i, the message was simple and clear. ‘If you don’t go in there and do something, then somebody else will. And the other person that comes in might not be from our [culture], they might not understand the significance of our culture. So, go in there and represent your culture as best as you can.’ And that was the mindset coming in knowing that everything is being gentrified.”

These responses indicate many artists are aware of gentrification and their role in gentrification. They understand Kaka‘ako has seen at least some aspects of gentrification. The artist respondents, however, seem to favor the concept of utilizing this gentrification process in a positive way for the community.

It is interesting to analyze respondents’ perspectives of the relationship between street art and gentrification. Many respondents said street art is not the cause of gentrification in Kaka‘ako. Instead, street art is used as a catalyst to aid gentrification. In comparison, many other respondents thought street art existed in the community prior to development and instigated gentrification. While this split in opinions is an interesting finding in itself, it is also interesting to look into respondents’ opinions on whether it matters if artists are involved in gentrification.

Bolton (2013) presents a similar idea: “It seems that wherever artists go, rising property prices, cafes filled with seats from 1940s railway stations and low-level ethnic cleansing appears to follow: is art itself to blame?” (para. 3). More importantly, artists are provided opportunities through gentrification. Even allowing artists to create artwork on construction borders is an opportunity for them to share their art and ideas: “Maile Meyer, owner of Na Mea Hawai‘i at Ward Warehouse said construction-site artwork can create a connection between builders and the community and provide opportunities for artists” (Constructive Creativity, para. 11, n.d.).

Another example of an opportunity that has been created for artists in the process of Kaka‘ako’s gentrification is the Ola Ka ‘Ilima Artspace Lofts. This is a recently approved affordable development for artists and their families, headed by the developers Artspace Projects, Inc. and Hui Kauhale, Inc. (Ola Ka ‘Ilima Artspace Lofts: Sustaining and Nurturing Hawaii’s Creative Community, n.d.). The development will include a PA‘I Arts & Cultural Center. PA‘I is a local non-profit organization whose mission is to preserve the Hawaiian arts and culture (About PA‘I, n.d., para. 2). A Honolulu Civil Beat article in 2015 explained the benefits of artist lofts:

First, we have no cheap, rundown commercial space left for artists to discover and pioneer; we’ve priced artists out of paradise. Second, artists are good for us. Neighborhoods are made more interesting by artists – like the ones who caught Kaka‘ako developers’ eyes in the first place. Artists give a place a hipper feel that pleases tourists and new condo owners. So it makes business sense to plant a few artists and water them. (Wallace, 2015, para. 27-28)

Giving artists an opportunity to create in a community is important, whether it contributes to the

gentrification of a community or not. Although respondents expressed many negative opinions on gentrification, the beautification of their community seemed to be more important. Having an enjoyable environment outweighs the negative side effects of gentrification worth it. Street art plays a great role in beautifying the community for these community members. Artists will always find a place to create. If their art will benefit the community, why not invite them to fill every wall with a beautiful masterpiece?

6 CONCLUSION

This study looked at how community members perceive the role of street art on the Kaka‘ako community. It explored the cultural, social, psychological, and economical roles that street art plays on the community, both in positive and negative light. Respondents interviewed for this study were comprised of three categories of Kaka‘ako community members: artists, business owners, and consumers.

Street art provokes thoughts and questions about the Hawaiian culture, helping to educate people about the Hawaiian culture. It creates a new artistic and open culture that embraces change and community engagement. Socially, street art creates a safe, revitalized, and beautiful gathering place, thus promoting community building. Street art creates an identity and brand for which Kaka‘ako is now known. Psychologically, street art exposes individuals to different types of art so that they may be inspired, enlightened, and aware of their surroundings. Lastly, street art attracts customers to Kaka‘ako that support local businesses and drives the local economy.

Perception on the relationship between gentrification and street art varied amongst respondents. While Kaka‘ako is understood to be a gentrified community that uses art as a tool to reach this gentrification, Kaka‘ako is also understood to be a hotspot that would be developed with or without the street art in the community. Regardless of the effect of gentrification and the role of street art, artists are provided an opportunity to express themselves. With this, community members can experience and enjoy street art, along with the different cultural, social, psychological, and economic benefits the street art contributes. The positive roles of street art outweigh the negative roles. It is better to have art throughout the community than to have bland walls with no art at all.

Limitations to this study include the small sample of respondents. Results in this study cover a wide range of themes. Had there been more respondents available to be interviewed, results may have depicted more cohesive themes. A shortcoming of this study is the absence of a fourth respondent category for residents. While two individuals who were interviewed own a condominium in Kaka‘ako, this study overlooked original residents living in the Kaka‘ako community, especially low-income and affordable housing residents. Other categories that could have been added, or can be added in future studies, include developers, landowners, and the homeless.

Prominent results demonstrated there is an important role gentrification plays on the street art and the artists themselves, which can be further explored in future studies. As street art has appeared to brand the Kaka‘ako community, furthering this idea of utilizing art to brand a community may bring interesting findings. Furthermore, future studies can look into the role that private art plays on the community, such as artwork in museums or commissioned by private landowners and businesses. Future studies can also apply this study to other communities, perhaps in communities with a similarly strong and diverse cultural background as Hawai‘i like Kaimuki, or in communities that have completely different characteristics than Kaka‘ako.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Questions for POW! WOW! Hawai'i Artist

1. What type of street art medium do you work with?
2. What type of street art concepts do you focus on?
3. What is your role in POW! WOW! Hawai'i?
4. How did you become a part of POW! WOW! Hawai'i?
5. How many years have you participated in POW! WOW! Hawai'i?
6. What is your experience in participating in POW! WOW! Hawai'i?
7. Do you think that the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai'i is street art or public art? Street art is defined as illegal artwork within the public space of a city's streets, while public art is approved and legal artwork commissioned by the owner of public land.
8. In terms of geography, what do you consider to be Kaka'ako? (*i.e., landmarks or streets that mark the end/barrier of Kaka'ako*)
9. What role do you think that the street art in Kaka'ako has played on the Kaka'ako community?
10. What role do you think that POW! WOW! Hawai'i has played on the Kaka'ako community?
11. Gentrification is the process of investment and development of disinvested urban communities, creating wealthy and prospering neighborhoods. What is your opinion on the gentrification of the Kaka'ako community?
12. Do you think that the street art in Kaka'ako has contributed to the gentrification of the Kaka'ako community?
13. What role do you think the artist has in the gentrification of a community?
14. Overall, how do you think that the Kaka'ako community has changed in the past 5 years?

APPENDIX B

Interview Questions for Kaka‘ako Business Owner

1. What services or products does your business offer?
2. In terms of geography, what do you consider to be Kaka‘ako? (*i.e., landmarks or streets that mark the end/barrier of Kaka‘ako*)
3. Where is your business located within the Kaka‘ako community?
4. Have you heard of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i? *{If no, skip questions 5 - 9}*
5. Do you actively engage in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i? How was your experience?
6. Do you support POW! WOW! Hawai‘i in Kaka‘ako?
7. Do you think that the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i is street art or public art? Street art is defined as illegal artwork within the public space of a city’s streets, while public art is approved and legal artwork commissioned by the owner of public land.
8. What role do you think that the street art in Kaka‘ako by POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has played on your business?
9. What role do you think that POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has played on the Kaka‘ako community?
10. What role do you think that the street art in Kaka‘ako has played on the Kaka‘ako community?
11. Gentrification is the process of investment and development of disinvested urban communities, creating wealthy and prospering neighborhoods. What is your opinion on the gentrification of the Kaka‘ako community?
12. Do you think that the street art in Kaka‘ako has contributed to the gentrification of the Kaka‘ako community?
13. Overall, how do you think that the Kaka‘ako community has changed in the past 5 years?

APPENDIX C

Interview Questions for Kaka‘ako Consumer

1. In terms of geography, what do you consider to be Kaka‘ako? *(i.e., landmarks or streets that mark the end/barrier of Kaka‘ako)*
2. How often do you visit the Kaka‘ako neighborhood?
3. Why do you visit the Kaka‘ako neighborhood?
4. Does the street art in Kaka‘ako encourage you to visit the Kaka‘ako community more?
5. What role do you think that the street art in Kaka‘ako has played on the Kaka‘ako community?
6. Have you heard of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i? *{If no, skip questions 7 - 9}*
7. Have you attended any of POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s festivals? If yes, how many?
8. Do you think that the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai‘i is street art or public art? Street art is defined as illegal artwork within the public space of a city’s streets, while public art is approved and legal artwork commissioned by the owner of public land.
9. What role do you think that POW! WOW! Hawai‘i has played on the Kaka‘ako community?
10. Gentrification is the process of investment and development of disinvested urban communities, creating wealthy and prospering neighborhoods. What is your opinion on gentrification of the Kaka‘ako community?
11. Do you think that the street art has contributed to the gentrification of the Kaka‘ako community?
12. Does the recent developments in Kaka‘ako encourage you to visit the neighborhood more?
13. Overall, how do you think that the Kaka‘ako community has changed in the past 5 years?

APPENDIX D

Consent Form for Interviews

University of Hawai‘i
Consent to Participate in a Research Project
Shaylen Chang, Principal Investigator

Street Art and the Community: A Study on POW! WOW! Hawai‘i’s Impact on the Kaka‘ako Community

Aloha! My name is Shaylen Chang and you are invited to take part in a research study. I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa in the Department of Communication. As part of the requirements for earning my graduate degree, I am doing a research project. The purpose of my project is to evaluate the role of street art on a community. I am focusing on POW! WOW! Hawai‘i and the Kaka‘ako community. I am asking you to participate because you have some association with either POW! WOW! Hawai‘i and/or Kaka‘ako.

Activities and Time Commitment: If you participate in this project, I will meet with you for an interview at a location and time convenient for you. The interview will consist of 13-14 open ended questions. It will take 45 minutes to an hour. Interview questions will include questions like, “What role do you think that the street art in Kaka‘ako has played on the Kaka‘ako community?” “Overall, how do you think that the Kaka‘ako community has changed in the past 5 years?”

Only you and I will be present during the interview. With your permission, I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses. You will be one of about 20 people I will interview for this study.

Benefits and Risks: There will be no direct benefit to you for participating in this interview. I believe there is little risk to you for participating in this research project. You may become stressed or uncomfortable answering any of the interview questions or discussing topics with me during the interview. If you do become stressed or uncomfortable, you can skip the question or take a break. You can also stop the interview or you can withdraw from the project altogether.

Privacy and Confidentiality: I will keep all study data secure on a password protected computer and phone. Only my University of Hawai‘i advisor and I will have access to the information. Other agencies that have legal permission have the right to review research records. The University of Hawai‘i Human Studies Program has the right to review research records for this study.

After I write a copy of the interviews, I will erase and destroy the audio-recordings. Unless you consent to be identified, I will not use your name when I report the results of my research project. I will not use any other personal identifying information that can identify you to protect

your privacy and confidentiality to the extent allowed by law.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this project is completely voluntary. You may stop participating at any time. If you stop being in the study, there will be no penalty or loss to you.

Questions: If you have any questions about this study, please call or email me at 808.286.0535 or shaylenc@hawaii.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Dr. Hanae Kramer, at hanae@hawaii.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the UH Human Studies Program at 808.956.5007 or uhrib@hawaii.edu.

If you agree to participate in this project, please sign and date this signature page and return it to me.

Please keep the section above for your records.

Tear or cut here

Signature(s) for Consent:

I give permission to join the research project entitled, *Street Art and the Community: A Study on POW! WOW! Hawai'i's Impact on the Kaka'ako Community*.

Please initial next to either "Yes" or "No" to the following:

<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	I consent to be audio-recorded for the interview portion of this research
<input type="checkbox"/> Yes	<input type="checkbox"/> No	I consent to be identified by my name in this research. (If you wish to be anonymous, initial next to "No")

Name of Participant (Print): _____

Participant's Signature: _____

Signature of the Person Obtaining Consent: _____

Date: _____

Mahalo!

APPENDIX E

Email to Potential Interview Participants

Aloha,

My name is Shaylen Chang and I am a graduate student at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa in the Department of Communication. I am emailing you to inquire if you are interested in participating in my research project. The purpose of my project is to evaluate the role of street art on a community. I am focusing on POW! WOW! Hawai'i and the Kaka'ako community. I am asking you to participate because you have some association with either POW! WOW! Hawai'i and/or the Kaka'ako community.

If you participate in this project, I will meet with you for an interview at a location and time convenient for you. The interview will consist of 13-14 open ended questions. It will take 45 minutes to an hour. Interview questions will include questions like, "What role do you think that the street art in Kaka'ako has played on the Kaka'ako community?" "Overall, how do you think that the Kaka'ako community has changed in the past 5 years?"

Only you and I will be present during the interview. With your permission, I will audio-record the interview so that I can later transcribe the interview and analyze the responses. You will be one of about 20 people I will interview for this study.

I will keep all study data secure on a password protected computer and phone. After I write a copy of the interviews, I will erase and destroy the audio-recordings. Unless you consent to be identified, I will not use your name when I report the results of my research project.

If you have any questions about this study, please call or email me at 808.286.0535 or shaylenc@hawaii.edu.

Please let me know if you are interested in participating in this study.

Mahalo,
Shaylen Chang

APPENDIX F

Selected Transcripts

Note: Below is a sample transcript from a consumer. Transcripts from artists and business owners are not listed here to protect their anonymity.

Interviewer: In terms of geography, what do you consider Kaka‘ako? Landmarks or street marks that mark the barrier.

Respondent: Kaka‘ako? Um. I would say like kind of by like Restaurant Row to, what is that called, like Sports Authority, Wahoo’s.

Interviewer: Restaurant Row to Ward? Does it include Ward?

Respondent: Uh, does it include Ward? Yeah sure why not. I say it does.

Interviewer: What about from mauka to makai?

Respondent: Mm. Uh. So here, what is this.

Interviewer: Ala Moana Boulevard.

Respondent: So from that point to... I don’t know. I’m not too sure.

Interviewer: Um, do you think it goes to Kapi‘olani Boulevard or past that?

Respondent: Uh nah actually I would just say that’s the point right there.

Interviewer: Does it include Restaurant Row?

Respondent: No, I wouldn’t say so.

Interviewer: Okay. So, the HCDA defines Kaka‘ako as Pi‘ikoi Street, right before Ala Moana. And then um Punchbowl Street, the other side of Honolulu Hale. And then Ala Moana Boulevard.

Respondent: That’s kind of far. Anyways, yeah okay.

Interviewer: And then King Street, it goes all the way up to King Street. What do you think about that? So, you didn’t include the area between Kapi‘olani and King Street. What do think about the HCDA considering it to be Kaka‘ako?

Respondent: Um. It's not developed really right? That area. I think that's why like it doesn't get that much attention. 'Cus it's not, what do you call, it's not developed.

Interviewer: How often do you visit the Kaka'ako neighborhood?

Respondent: Um for the past 3, 4 weeks, I've been there almost every day of the week.

[Excerpt taken out to protect respondent's anonymity]

Interviewer: Are there any other place you go to?

Respondent: Um let's see. Not really. Yeah not really

Interviewer: Is there a reason why?

Respondent: Um, for me, there's not really, on my end, there's not much for me to do I guess. I don't know. All I do um in that area is pretty much just go to work kind of.

Interviewer: Any food places for lunch?

Respondent: Oh, Egg Head. Right, Egg Head? What is the, Paiko. Oh, Highway Inn. Highway Inn is really good. For all our breaks, we there almost all the time like it's ridiculous. There or Big City Diner. Um, yeah.

Interviewer: Before you started working there did you go to the Kaka'ako area a lot?

Respondent: Not a lot but there's a lot of stuff, especially with like POW! WOW!, I think that kind of gave the community a sense of like something to look at and just do. It's like, and especially with like the development that's been like occurring. There's a lot of like freshness. How do I say, it's just being more developed and because of that it's giving people like curiosity to like check it out and what not.

Interviewer: Is that the role you think that street art has played on the Kaka'ako community?

Respondent: Oh definitely. I think because of that, it just the reason for people to go there. And like before there, like before there wasn't even like routes that busses would go for like tourists and stuff. Now they're like willing to show people you know, there's like different types of art and it's just something to um, just something really, how should I say, I don't know. It's something to appreciate I guess. Instead of just driving down Ala Moana Boulevard to whatever their destinations which is probably like Waikiki. It allows them to do something and explore that area in a sense. Yeah

Interviewer: So that's the social impact?

Respondent: I would say so. And there's like engagement too within that community. Its um, I'm not too sure how it was before but like I imagine that people just didn't go there period. Now because it's, it's new, it's kind of like that. I wouldn't necessarily say hipster look but it's a sense of like community that, I don't know, that people just enjoy. It's different, it's.... Like if you look at Hawai'i in general, there's not really a place that is centered on art or like expiration of creativity. Yeah, I don't know like when like now when I think of Kaka'ako, I think of a lot of colors, a lot of like cool shit you know what I mean. It's like you go there, you check out the art, you check out like the you know like those food places or I don't know it's just a sense of freshness I guess you could say. But yeah.

Interviewer: What do you think, um... What role do you think that street art has had on Kaka'ako culturally?

Respondent: Culturally? Um. I'm tryna think of the artists but you know there are some pieces that I've seen before where it was heavily inspired with um Hawaiian culture. Um I'm not too sure what um the piece was called. *[Excerpt taken out to protect respondent's anonymity]* And I guess like you know people are driven to like, how should I say, when people are attracted to that kind of stuff, it sparks curiosity and when they spark curiosity, when that strikes I don't know people just really appreciate that in a sense. I don't know.

Interviewer: So, you're saying that when there are murals of the Hawaiian culture, people become more curious and inspired and appreciative?

Respondent: Oh absolutely. I think so. It's just, because before, like it's something, you know what I mean. Like you can't be I don't know you can't really be inspired by just nothing. And it's, it just has like it's a blank canvas. When you look at, when you just look at walls right now it's just nothing but when someone express their idea or a story or some kind of like concept, like you know, it gets people thinking and I think that with the artist that are selected or given the opportunity to you know do murals and what not, they are definitely making the community better in that sense, getting them thinking and you know being a positive impact. So, yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think that there should be more Hawaiian culture inspired art, street art?

Respondent: Do I think that there should be more? Um. I would say so. As long as like artists themselves uh like really dive into the culture. And I'm not saying they don't do that now but you know really make sure they know their stuff and. 'Cus that's what it comes down to like you know visual communication and it gets people thinking. And you know like having the right message is important as well you know what I mean. But yeah, I really think that you know having more of Hawaiian artists uh and doing those kinds of stuff, its there's just a lot of positive and I think especially with this kind of community and um I don't know just a good impact

Interviewer: What do you think that the economic role?

Respondent: So, like businesses? So, like it drives uh yeah, I would say tourists. Tourists, local to you know like check out places. Especially um, what is that called, Night Market. You know that's a good place for like local businesses to come and showcase what they have and uh what do you call, even like food trucks and what not. It's uh it's just a good gathering place I guess you could say. Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think street art has a role in that?

Respondent: I think so. Like why, like what, what else is, like if you took Kaka'ako and you removed all the art, what would there be? You know what I mean. Like there's not, as of right now, that the defining factor of Kaka'ako. Its changing, its developing, and its driving people to like engage with that area you know. And I think, economically like business over there, it's helping them. Its making people wanna go there.

Interviewer: What about the psychological role street art plays on Kaka'ako?

Respondent: Like what do you mean?

Interviewer: Psychological of the community members.

Respondent: Just positive. I don't know like, I mean you know some times you get a lot of people they perceive like. Yeah that's the thing. Like murals are totally different from like graffiti I guess you could say. Like a lot of people are discouraged by that but when they see actual art on like a huge ass canvas like a fricken big ass wall, you know that's the kind of thing that makes people like have that positive attitude towards that. Like that when its accepted you know. Like people have a reason to like it rather than someone just like, what is it called, not defacing but....

Interviewer: Have you heard of POW! WOW! Hawai'i?

Respondent: Yes, I have.

Interviewer: What do you know about it?

Respondent: I just know since what 2014, that kind of sounds about right. What's his name um Jasper Wong. I believe he's the one that founded it. But it's all a bunch of local artists uh coming together and not even local artists, like artists around the world right now being selected, coming together in that one spot um having the opportunity to express their ideas, their message through art and um really yeah showcasing that in that area and what else. Just um yeah. Just doing stuff.

Interviewer: Do you like it? Do you like the concept?

Respondent: I think it's a great concept and like, like I said before its Kaka'ako hasn't really been a spot for anything. To be honest with you, it hasn't. But with that you know with that opportunity like it's just really dope for people to come together and, and do that. I believe what do you call like people had like were looking for permits or what not to paint walls or something. Like the businesses walls and they were saying like, "Do you mind if we do this. And if you don't like it, we'll just paint over it and have a freshly painted wall." You know it's a win-win on the business' end you know. But yeah, I just think its dope. It brings community together, artists to express their ideas. Businesses to grow because of you know people having interest in going there. Yeah, it's just all around positive in that area I think. But yeah.

Interviewer: Have you attended any of the POW! WOW! Hawai'i festivals?

Respondent: No and I wish but I am planning on doing so um. What is that next week?

Interviewer: Have you visited all the murals?

Respondent: I wouldn't say all of it but um there's a lot of a lot of like artwork that catches my eyes and simply just like, pull on the side. Like I've actually pulled on the side and look at it I guess you could say.

Interviewer: Like which ones?

Respondent: Uh like there's the one with the 'iwi birds I believe and I think it was like, it's kind of like an Aztec kind of looking deal. There's that blue uh what is it, it's like an Asian style, like I don't know the names of it but there's a lot of you know things that I've noticed. Kamea's like uh work. What else. I don't know, I forget all the artists name but there are a few like you can see it and you know their style but yeah. It's just something to really look at and just enjoy in a sense.

Interviewer: Do you think that the art made in POW! WOW! Hawai'i is street art or public art?

Respondent: Street art or public art? Uh it's both. I mean, yeah, it's like literally like on the street and people. It's out and open to the public. I mean yeah. That's just how it is.

Interviewer: So, street art is defined as illegal artwork within the public space of the city street while public art is approved and legal artwork commissioned by the owner of the public land.

Respondent: So, the two things that separate each other is the if its legal or not? On my end, my perspective, it's both. Its street art, its public art. It's for the public, the public can go in and out you know what I mean. And its fricken on the street you know. It's like I mean for that to be defined by the legality, if that's even a word, of it, yeah. I don't know

Interviewer: So, if it's also street art, there's multiple, there's many different forms of street art. There are stenciling and like what is it called, like pasting the paper.

Respondent: That's stenciling, right?

Interviewer: No. Stenciling is when you have a stencil.

Respondent: Oh, like posters and what not.

Interviewer: Yeah. Kind of. Posters. And there's even installations. Some people call it street craft that are woven into the space. Three dimensional. Do you think that POW! WOW! Should expand from just murals? Or do you think murals are the most effective best thing?

Respondent: Uh. I mean yeah as long as it doesn't disrupt the community which I'm sure it really doesn't. 'Cus I can, I can potentially see um certain pieces of work being implemented like in Kaka'ako. And it wouldn't necessarily affect anyone, I think.

Interviewer: What kind of certain pieces?

Respondent: Uh I don't know. Like what I think, some people like.... Or I've seen artwork where they like yarn crap, you know what I mean. Um or uh how should I say, like using gutters as or like uh a parking meter as part of their work rather than you know slapping a painting on a wall. I mean yeah, you know, its Kaka'ako is fun. Like as of right now like when someone mentions that, that's what I think of. Colors, fun, fresh, like it's a new I don't know it's just fun, fresh and yeah.

Interviewer: What role do you think that POW! WOW! Hawai'i has played on the Kaka'ako community?

Respondent: Um. I'd say a lot better. Um, I do know there are a like a lot of homeless people that roam around and what not. But man, from what I see, it's so much better than what it has been. And like for, how should I say, it just builds a sense of community. Like I hate to keep on using that word but I can't stress, like that's what it is. It just builds community.

Interviewer: POW! WOW! Hawai'i has built community in Kaka'ako?

Respondent: I would say so. Like yeah. It's something now.

Interviewer: Has it just built a Kaka'ako community or has it built a whole Hawai'i community?

Respondent: Mm. Yes and no like. Like yes Kaka'ako is something now and I would say like a lot has to do with um like the internet, social media, and all that kinds of stuff. People are really intrigued with the type of the artwork. And once that's like published on certain like social media feeds, you know people are intrigued by that and that like drives people to what do you

call explore more art, explore more areas that have it you know. So yeah, I'd say it's both in that way. Like yeah Kaka'ako and more than just that.

Interviewer: So, gentrification is the process of investment and development of disinvested urban communities creating wealthy and prospering neighbors. DO you think that Kaka'ako has been gentrified or is it in the process or its not?

Respondent: Okay so, sorry you gonna have to repeat that.

Interviewer: Gentrification. Developers in low-income disinvested areas and they build it up. That makes them a profit, pushing out the original community. Do you think that's happening in Kaka'ako?

Respondent: Okay. Um. Pushing out the original? What do you mean? I'd say like it building you know. That's what I think. It's, like its changed but for the better I would say on my end. Like, like I said, it's just something. It's not what it was before and its progressed positively. Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think that the street art has contributed to the gentrification of Kaka'ako?

Respondent: Yeah.

Interviewer: How so?

Respondent: The amount of positives that its done for that area, it surpasses a lot of things and its growing. And because of that event and because of what they do, its just helped developing that area and for the better I believe.

Interviewer: So, artists move into a low-income area where they can afford to rent these really big warehouses for a place to create and for a place to stay and live in. And in turn they beautify the area with their art. And this creates more foot traffic to see the art which increases the amount of local businesses which attracts large businesses who can afford to buy out all these local businesses and push out all of the artists thus displacing all of the original artists and all the low-income people who lived in the area. This has happened in SoHo and San Fran, Boston, Chicago, everywhere. Do you think this is happening in Kaka'ako?

Respondent: As of right now, hmm. Well there is some development, you know what I mean. Like thinking about that but...

Interviewer: Or do you think it will happen?

Respondent: Uh. I mean. Hmm. As of right now no. I mean there wasn't really that much to begin with, you know what I mean. Well for what I know. Like nobody really hung out over that. It's like, it's just, like growing up on my end, I didn't know what Kaka'ako was. I just you

know. But now because its turned into something, um yeah. I would say probably. I don't know I don't really have an opinion on that I guess you could say. But I just know that it's definitely being developed and in a positive light right now. I don't think it's gotten to that point of you know like big big businesses tryna not corrupt but take over. But it's just yeah.

Interviewer: Um, do the recent developments in Kaka'ako encourage you to visit the neighborhood more?

Respondent: Yes absolutely.

Interviewer: What do you do there now?

Respondent: Um for one I go to work there. But it's just something refreshing to look at. It's something that is not necessarily out of the norm but it definitely, it's definitely, how should I say. Sorry how was your question again. Like what do I do more? Nah just observe the area more I guess. Like it's just something. It's just something to really appreciate in a sense.

Interviewer: If Kaka'ako was like, if it was like the area that you knew growing up, where no one went there. Would you still work there?

Respondent: Yeah. I mean, 'cus it was like a... Yeah, I mean its work but I mean I wouldn't really think anything of it other than just doing so. You know. Like, like our building that we have, I forget what the artists name but like it's really cool to be a part of that you know. And from what I see, there's like a lot of tourists like walk past and take pictures and like they're really fascinated by everything. And not just tourists too. It's like a lot of locals you know. Yeah, they're not just going to their gym. They're walking around and looking at the different murals and really enjoying and appreciating things. Like I see a lot of times they whip out their phones and you know just take a moment to stop and just look at things. I don't know like that's kind of cool you know what I mean. Like especially in that area. But yeah. I don't know like if nothing was there I think people would just go about their days just thinking nothing of it.

Interviewer: Do you enjoy it more?

Respondent: Oh yeah, absolutely. And it's just like I said it's just different and it fuels, it fuels like creativity. It fuels that creativity that for myself like it's awesome to be around. It snot just something that's fucking boring or like for myself I'm a designer slash like and... Like in my field that I work in, it's good to be surrounded by like that kind of atmosphere you know. Like things that aren't black and white. Things are open, things are free, things are like just a, things are just... Like there's no boundaries kind of a deal you know.

Interviewer: Do you think there should be more of that in more areas in Hawai'i?

Respondent: Um to a certain extent. You know I think Hawai'i is very, it's very, like how should I say. Hawai'i is very traditional and in a lot of different places. But like I think that's why like looking at Kaka'ako, I think that's the only place that could really be, really be done to be honest with you.

Interviewer: No other places?

Respondent: Like, like I don't know like think about Waianae. What do you think like if it has murals and an actual like fricken area with all street art in Waianae. Like I don't know, Hawai'i is just too traditional for that but like Kaka'ako is fricken part of town, it's part of like. I think it's just smack dab in the middle of commercial and like tourism. And just and like beach. Like Downtown is like all like you know business, corporate. Waikiki you have all your tourists. Like Ala Moana Beach park yeah you have your locals. And I think in that area it's just kind of brings everyone together from all different aspects. Like it's kind of cool to think about it you know what I mean. And I think that's like a great place to you know have it. And I think that's the reason why, you know it does so well. It hits all aspects and all types of people on this island you know. Yeah that's kind of my outlook.

Interviewer: Overall how do you think the Kaka'ako community has changed in the past five years?

Respondent: Past five years. Um. Like I said, just uh just development, more um more people visiting and uh yeah.

Interviewer: So that, the five years correlates to the start of POW! WOW!. So, do you think that the street art has a direct effect on what you just said, the development and visiting?

Respondent: A direct effect? Yeah. Like um like I said it's just something you know. Before with what it was, it's kind of just like a homeless stomping ground. And small businesses. But now it's turned into something and something positive I feel in my perspective. But yeah.

Interviewer: How do you, as a community member, how do you perceive the role of street art on the Kaka'ako community overall?

Respondent: Kaka'ako community. Um.

Interviewer: First off do you think it's positive, neutral or negative?

Respondent: Positive?

Interviewer: Do you support it?

Respondent: Yeah. It just brings people to like to do something there. Like Night Market, um you know there's like tourist buses that actually drive past and people take pictures and you

know find a sense of like, like it beautification you know what I mean. Like, how should I say, like there's actually something to look at, something to appreciate, something to digest and yeah. It's just a positive impact on you know that area.